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THE ANCIENT VICEREGAL CAPITAL OF VIRGINIA.

The tourist traveling seaward from Richmond, by way of the Chesapeake & Ohio railway, after viewing the variety of scenes presented over a distance of some forty miles, will have his vision refreshingly startled by something entirely different from anything that has preceded it. From the window on the right, the eye will be greeted by the appearance of large ancestral trees, whose beautiful branches spread like a benediction over roofs green with moss and gray with age. The partial view permitted of the sides of the houses, owing to the intervention of a high bank, reveals quaint old gables and dormer windows; while, cleaving the atmosphere and almost hidden by the green foliage abundantly surrounding it, is the steeple surmounting a Norman tower, from the apex of which sleepily vibrates, at the caprice of the wind, the weather-cock or vane, so seldom seen in modern settlements.

This is none other than Williamsburg, the ancient viceregal capital of proud old Virginia. My entrance to it was marked by the happiest coincidences of earth and sky. The moon's soft light fell unobstructed from peaceful, cloudless skies. The pathway from the new, innovating depot ran through a generous common of dew-drooping grass; tired birds had folded their wings among the huge branches of trees, the mysteries of whose upper realms they alone had explored. There was neither sound of insect, bird or human being to commingle with that of the stranger's footsteps, as he slowly wended his way towards a place of shelter for the night.

From the balcony of the inn, and not a square distant, rose upon the

vision a scene whose character could scarcely be mistaken. "Is not that an old church?" questioned I of mine host, who, in true English fashion, had met and welcomed me on the verge of his threshold.

"Yes, indeed," was the quick response; "next to the oldest in the colony You must see it to-morrow."

But the lines of Sir Walter Scott ran through my brain:

"If thou wouldst view fair Melrose aright,
Go visit it by the pale moonlight."

This could not be Melrose; it was not even a ruin; but softly, yet clearly outlined against the background of the western sky rose Norman tower and ivy-mantled gables, and by the pale moonlight was my first visit made to old Christ's church, while the city lay asleep; and I shall never regret yielding to the impulse which photographed upon my memory forever a vision of enchantment, more beautiful because more real than pictures sometimes seen in dreams.

Ponce de Leon sought in vain the fountain of eternal youth in Florida. I builded better than I knew when I came to Williamsburg, for I found the Paradise of sweet-do-nothing in Old Virginia. The very air seems charged with the magnetism of dignified repose. *Otium cum dignitate, otium sine dignitate.* The pilgrim can take his choice here in this charming retreat and quaff the elixir of existence from a golden chalice, metaphorically speaking. Dull care is driven to the winds, and any effort which seems like a desecration of this romantic serenity is stoutly resented by the dwellers in this enchanted place, as may be gathered from an anecdote related in illustration, to-wit: When the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad company proposed to run their line through the town, the idea was strongly objected to, for the alleged reason that the early morning train would arouse the people from their slumbers at an unseasonable hour. The train came through at half-past nine o'clock.

It was long before half-past nine the following morning when I bent my footsteps once more in the direction of the antique church. If I had just come from rural England I should have felt in approaching its brick wall enclosure its arched gateway and iron gate, the amplitude of blooming ivy and the quaint tombstones tessellating the acre of churchyard, that I was treading no alien soil. The similarity was striking enough to make complete the illusion that the old colonists had brought from far off Albion not only architecture, customs and manners,

but the vernal, genial atmosphere in which could thrive the same flowers, vines and shrubs which had made their motherland such a garden of beauty.

The doors of the sanctuary were locked, but through open windows feathered songsters flitted in and out without fear of molestation. Passing the threshold was like entering a miniature Westminster Abbey. The church was built in 1636, and the graves beneath the floor and chancel, and the tablets on the walls, speak in mute but eloquent tones of the illustrious past. The walls are built of brick imported from England, the surface of every alternate one being glazed, but much of the exterior is covered



CHRIST'S CHURCH, WILLIAMSBURG, VA.

with a dense growth of ivy from base to cornice. Within, over the eastern entrance, is the organ and choir gallery, which I was told a young lady made a very heaven of melody when her voice chanted the divine *Te Deum* and *Gloria in Excelsis*. At the opposite end of the rear and under the tower is another gallery in which Lord Dunmore and his viceroyal suite assembled in state to confess their sins of commission and omission, when he was governor of the colony. Over the end of the north transept is another gallery which, in other days, was occupied by the

colored servants. The church is without painted or stained glass, but the lesser windows are made up of small, old-fashioned panes, surmounted by an arch. Although two hundred and forty years old, and next to one, that of Isle of Wight, the oldest in the state, this monument of colonial times is in a remarkable state of preservation. It is the pride of Williamsburg, and well it may be cherished and cared for by the parishioners for the many associations clustering around it even as the evergreen ivy clings to its walls and inwreathes the tombstones round about them. The old pile is rich in legend and tradition, and has an interesting history. Among the former is a pretty thing concerning the bell whose silvery chimes have for so many, many years called the faithful from cares and thoughts of the world to prayer and praise. The old bell is celebrated for its mellifluous tones, which are accounted for in this way: At the time of its making, at a bell foundry in London, it is said the good Queen Anne happened to be visiting the foundry, and, pausing where this particular bell was being cast, was told that it was intended for a church in one of her majesty's true and loyal colonies. Seized by an impulse which was not foreign to her nature, the gracious lady caused her lap to be filled with silver coin, which with her own fair hands she poured into the molten metal. I class this pretty story among the legends of Christ's church, but it is more than legend in the hearts of loyal Williamsburgers.

Bruton parish is the rich possessor of two magnificent communion services. One, of solid silver, was presented by George the Third, and bears upon each vessel the royal insignia. The other is gold, and some contend that it was given by the then "Lord Mayor of Londontown." In reality, however, it was the gift of Sir John Page, the donor of the land upon which was built the church itself. Sir John built the lovely house called Rosewell, which is yet standing on the York river, only a few miles distant. In the chancel stands the authentic font in which the beautiful and amiable Indian princess, Pocahontas, Rebecca Montrose, was baptized into the Christian faith in the old church, now in ruins, down at Jamestown, seven miles away. It is carved out in fine Italian marble, quite plain, and in some places is crumbling from age, but charmingly antique.

As in English churches, so we find here between the windows mural tablets recording the virtues of "saints departed this life in God's fear and favor." Then there are graves under the floor and under the sacred chancel, and one tombstone covers a grave in the middle of the main aisle. Outside reposes the dust of a long line of dignitaries and aristocrats of the colony,

among them being graves marked with the names of Bray, Millington, Blair, Ludwell, Governor Nott, Sir Thomas Lunsford, and others of equal note. Peculiar and especial interest attaches to one grave which contains the dust of a descendant of Mary, Queen of Scots, the most beautiful, the most lovely and most unfortunate queen that ever graced a throne. This was Lady Christine Stuart, whose dust reposes now beside that of her daughter, Mrs. Griffin, whose husband was the Earl of Traquair. Finding, however, that he could not enjoy this title or the revenues of his ancestral estate without going to Scotland to live, he preferred remaining in Williamsburg as Dr. Griffin. His daughter, Mrs. Dr. Hall, founder of Lynchburg, but who is now living in Washington, is said to be as graceful and lovely as any one might imagine an earl's daughter should be, although now eighty years old. The grave of his grandmother is unmarked, although it is not neglected, as the ivy trailing over it and the care with which its locality is preserved in the memory of young and old abundantly testify. Stuart Hall, near the college, is where Lady Christine lived and died, every room in which is still haunted by some delightful ghost, the most modern that of a French officer who died there during the Revolution. Dr. John Mercer, still living in Virginia, is a descendant of this royal line.

Many of the tombstones in this hallowed ground are broken and the inscriptions so nearly obliterated by the relentless action of the elements that the epitaphs cannot be deciphered. Some are ornate with elaborate armorial bearings, and some ghastly with those forcible reminders of our mortality—skulls and cross-bones. Grand old trees wave their everlasting branches above these silent places of repose, the ever present English ivy creeps lovingly over the lovelier tablets, while a luxuriant growth of Baltimore belle and Mercophilla roses diffuse their exquisite incense through the sanctity pervading the place.

In 1698, or three years after the disturbance caused by Indians which culminated in what is known as Bacon's rebellion, the seat of colonial government was moved from Jamestown to Williamsburg palace, known also as the Middle Plantation. Of this rebellion Bishop Meade says:

Writers on this subject trace the beginning of this movement to an enterprise against the Indians by Colonel Mason and Captain Brent, of Stafford county, in 1675, who, on some cruel murder committed by the former, collected troops and followed them over into Maryland, putting great numbers to death, bringing a young son of one of their kings back a prisoner. They were continuing to harass those who lived on the frontier and in the interior, while the governor and those living at or around Jamestown were quite secure. The former began to complain that they were not protected, and that they must follow

the example of Mason and Brent, and take care of themselves. Among the dissatisfied was Bacon, a man of family, talents, courage and ambition. After applying in vain to Sir William Berkeley for a commission to raise men for the purpose of assailing the Indians, he, urged by his own genius and the wishes of others, collected a considerable troop and spread terror around him, destroying a number of the hostile nations. The governor proclaimed him a rebel, but the people sent him back to the house of burgesses, and the governor thought it expedient even to admit him into the council, where he had been before. But it did not end here. Bacon again raised a troop and sallied forth against the Indians. Again the governor proclaimed him a rebel, and raised an army to subdue him and his followers. But Bacon, with an inferior force, besieged Jamestown, drove out the governor and his men, and, lest he should regain the stronghold, burnt city, church and all to the ground.

Before the capital was removed to Williamsburg, that place had already begun to manifest symptoms of future importance. Its site was eligible—a level plain about equidistant from the York and the James rivers, forty miles from deep sea-water at what is now Newport News, and forty miles from Richmond. It was settled in 1632, chiefly by persons who had grown tired of life at Jamestown, or who thought the new town offered better inducements than the old. The original design was to lay out the town so that the streets should form a monogram of the letters W and M, in honor of the reigning sovereigns, William and Mary. With the exception of some trifling incompleteness, I believe, the civil engineers were successful in their loyal ambition. The principal one of these avenues is Duke of Gloucester street, three-quarters of a mile long and one hundred and sixty feet in width, straight, level and shaded on either side by stately old trees. This noble avenue was never meant to extend any farther, for the College of William and Mary stands facing the west end, while the eastern extremity was the site of the capital building. The other streets all bear titles suggestive of a colony loyal to its king and mother country, England, Ireland, Scotland, Prince George, Botetourt, Henry, Nassau, Francis, Walter, Nicholson, King and York, being the principal ones, with the exception of Palace Green, a lovely esplanade upon which the old church fronts, and which runs north from Duke of Gloucester street, perhaps two squares. It is smooth cut and green indeed, except in the merry month of May, when it enters into competition with the churchyard, separated from it only by a low brick wall, as to which shall produce the finest display of genuine old English buttercups, from seed originally imported and planted there by Sir John Page.

The viceroial palace faced the northern extremity of this beautiful Palace Green. This was the home of Lord Dunmore, of Governor Spotswood and others successively who ruled the colony. The palace had a front of seventy-four feet, and a depth of sixty-eight feet, and was built on an en-

closure containing three hundred and sixty acres, all laid out with exquisite taste. The palace was a magnificent structure, completely furnished within, while over the roof was "a good cupola, or lantern, illuminating most of the town." An orchard, canal, drives, walks, ornamental gates, lindens brought from Scotland, and many other appliances of wealth and position characterized the home of the colonial nabob. The reception-room used to contain portraits of the king and queen. Over the roof floated "the flag that has waved a thousand years, the battle and the breeze," and here a miniature court of St. James was maintained, with all the graces and few, if any, of the vices of its original. The wings, a guard-house and an office were standing up to the time of the late war, when they were torn down by the Union troops, and the bricks used in building barracks. The main portion of the palace had been destroyed accidentally by fire during its occupancy by some French troops, immediately after Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown. On part of the foundation now stands the Matty school, and the only vestige of the palatial establishment is a half subterranean, circular building, which no one in these days can tell the use of.

On Prince George street, and not far from the palace site, stands a house which was once the home of William Wirt, and, even now, on one of the window-panes his name is engraved there by himself. That pane is precious in the eyes of the present occupant, Dr. Charles Washington Coleman, a relative of General Washington. Hard by this is the Peachy house, a fine old mansion, where General La Marquis de La Fayette was entertained upon the occasion of his return to America, by the owner, Dr. A. C. Peachy. Another, not far distant, was the house of Edward Randolph, Washington's secretary of state, from whom it passed to his kinsman, St. George Tucker, and from him to Judge Beverly Tucker, whose descendants still happily retain it.

Close by the south side of Christ's church, within a private enclosure, lies the dust of Judge Tucker, and over his grave rises a white marble monument, on one side of which is this inscription:

Descended from Virginia's best blood.

JUDGE TUCKER

Was by birth and bearing a gentleman, of the old school. He filled with credit and distinction positions of trust and dignity. Was judge of the U. S. Court in the territory of Missouri, and after his return to his native state a professor in the college of William and Mary till his death. His influence in developing the minds and characters of his pupils was a prominent trait in his character.

He was a ready, accurate and elegant writer.

He was hospitable, benevolent and charitable.

And his honor and integrity were without a stain.

This eminent scholar and author, upright judge, learned jurist, constant friend, affectionate husband and father, died as he lived, a sage, a patriot, and a Christian.

Judge Tucker, it will be remembered, was a half-brother of John Randolph of Roanoke. His mother was a Miss Frances Bland, who first married John Randolph's father, and afterwards Judge Beverly Tucker, sr. She is described as a queenly woman and fit descendant of the lovely Indian Princess, Pocahontas, and the mighty Indian King Powhatan. The present lady of the mansion is a niece of John Randolph of Roanoke.

Tazewell Hall, a spacious mansion at the head of and facing England street, was built by Sir John and Lady Randolph. Large and imposing as it is on the exterior, the inside is far more elegant and attractive. There are magnificent marble mantles over the roomy, old-time fireplaces; the ceilings are lofty, and the wainscoting is superb. After the Randolphs, it became the property and residence of Governor Tazewell, from whom it took the name by which it has ever since been known, although now owned by Mr. Hamlin, of the C. & O. railroad.

Apropos of its occupancy by any other than its early owners' descendants, a little anecdote is told, to the effect that the present occupant, being desirous of placing some old colonial furniture in Tazewell Hall, so as to comport with "the eternal fitness of things," finally succeeded in obtaining from one of the old families at least one article, a sideboard, whose claim to antiquity could not be impeached. A few days after, one of the old Tazewell servants, who subsequently became workwoman for the lady who had sold the sideboard, came to her mistress with her eyes wide open, her Ethiopian complexion as near white as it possibly could be from fright, and with awful tones asked: "Miss Edith, have you heard 'bout yo' old sidebo'd, ma'am? Nobody can stay in Tazewell Hall, sich cries and groans come from it. An' las' night, a lady, all robed in white, was seen walkin' an' walkin' 'round it, wringing her hands and sobbin' like her po' heart dun broke."

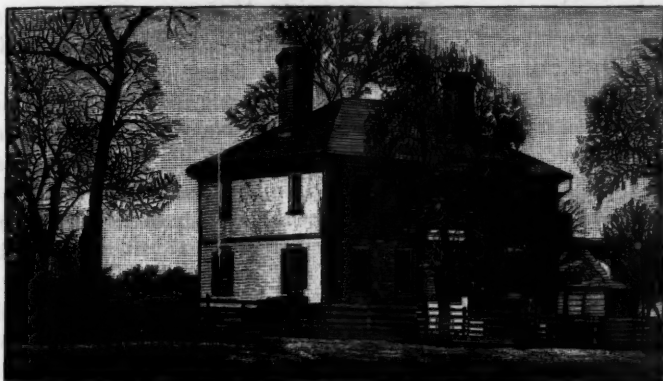
The lady remonstrated: "Why, Sally, you certainly do not believe anything so absurd?"

But Sarah gazed at her mistress as if pitying her ignorance and lack of faith, and said:

"Believe it? *Yes, ma'am*, that I do; and if those people stay in that old house *they'll see worser things than that*. Why, Miss Edith, don't you

know these 'spectable old ghosts ain't gwine to 'low new people to own de place?"

Not a stone's throw from the palace site, and in the lot adjoining the churchyard, is a noble old brick mansion built by Chancellor George Wythe, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. It is now celebrated, however, for having been made the headquarters of General Washington in 1781, when he visited the camp of General La Fayette in advance of the allied army then already in motion by land and water to force Cornwallis' stronghold at Yorktown. The house is a large two-story building, and is now the home of Colonel Randolph Harrison and his charming family. The widow of Governor Page made it her home after the death of her husband, who was the last colonial governor. So the



WYTHE MANSION.

stately old house is fascinating enough to the antiquarian from actual association of celebrated people; yet its charms are enhanced to the romantic temperament by the assurance that every room in the grim old house is haunted. Each room boasts its separate individual ghost, but one—now "my lady's chamber"—is especially honored by being the favored spot which the old chancellor chooses to visit when he "walks." Please read the word "walks" with particular care, and fancy that you hear some good old English dame of long ago "freezing your young blood" with some of her choicest, most enchanting, most authentic stories of unquiet 'squires who for deeds done in their own body or that of some one else, could not

rest contented upon Plutonian shores, but must revisit periodically or otherwise, the "glimpses of the moon." I can testify that "walks" is the technical word to use, in old wives' tales as well as in Shakespeare. And with a full appreciation of all it implies in this connection, you will agree with me that it is eerie and blood-chilling enough.

Well, it is declared that the old chancellor was lingering here below too long for the purpose of a wicked and ambitious nephew, who, to make the story short, administered to his unsuspecting uncle, under the guise of medicine, a potion which soon caused the aged kinsman to sleep and wake no more. Whether the guilty man ever succeeded in obtaining the money for which he so wickedly yearned, I cannot say; but the legend is that ever since, on the anniversary night in each year on which the awful deed was done, the spirit of the old gentleman comes back to this house, and at the hour when graveyards yawn, a cold, clammy hand is passed across the face of any sleeper or sleepers in that room from which the spirit of Chancellor Wythe took its unwilling flight.

Ghost of the Chancellor or not, however, this fine old house contains one possession material enough and antique enough to insure its genuineness. This is one relic of vicerojal glory from the old palace, namely: one of Lord Dunmore's chairs. Of course it is solid mahogany, and to look at it is enough to render the antiquarian totally oblivious of the commandment which says, "Thou shalt not covet anything which is thy neighbor's."

Readers of Thackeray will remember that frequent mention of Williamsburg is made in his charming novel, 'The Virginians.' Here many of the scenes were laid, and it is not difficult to the imaginative mind to locate many of the incidents described as having occurred at some point in this delightful old snuggery of romance and chivalry. Here the valiant Madam Esmond used to come from Richmond, driving here in her gorgeous coach-and-four, with liveried postillion and outriders, and all the possible insignia of her rank and state. Not far removed from Williamsburg is supposed to have been the magnificent Castlewood estate, with its hospitable mansion, and here in the city itself can easily be pictured the house she established when she defied the rebels and commanded her musicians to play, "Britons, strike home." There never was a place more stimulating to the imagination than this. Here one lives almost entirely in the past, and whether cold, uncompromising truth would bear the pilgrim out or not, yet it is impossible not to connect, mentally, at

least, as a kinswoman of Madam Esmond, an elderly lady now living here. Such a decided individuality as the madam's would be apt to perpetuate itself in succeeding generations, and if she is not an Esmond she is quite as loyal to the mother country as the Tory madam was. This lady is famous in the neighborhood for her emphatic declaration that she feels under no obligation to General Washington and the American forces for interfering with the colonial government. The government of Great Britain was quite good enough for her.

Before the war the residents used to boast that there was not a pauper to be found on the peninsula. Even the communion alms had to be sent away to be distributed. There were one or two poor old ladies in town, but they were so pampered and petted by the citizens that they really lived in luxury. One of these was old Mrs. H., the daughter-in-law of the stage manager mentioned in John Esten Cooke's 'Virginia Comedians.'

An old lady died a few years since who imagined herself a granddaughter of a queen of Denmark, and many persons believed that she was. She said that her grandmother offended the king in some way, and he gave orders that she should be beheaded. She made her escape to England, where she lived for some months disguised as a servant girl, and then came over to Yorktown. After some years she was followed to this country by Sir ———, and after the death of the king she married him. She revealed her story only to one person, who never repeated it until after the death of the old lady and her daughter. The granddaughter was supported by the church for ten or twelve years. On one occasion she sent to Mrs. C., who was in the habit of dispensing the communion alms, for a pound of tea and two pounds of sugar. She was so enraged when but half that quantity of each was sent that she broke the papers and scattered tea and sugar over the carpet. When she was dying a friend asked her "if she felt willing to depart?" She replied, "I shall not tell you; *I make it a rule never to gratify idle curiosity.*"

Before the Revolution, Mr. and Mrs. John Paradise emigrated here from England, bringing with them household furniture, library, and all their portable property. The Paradise house, as it is known to all the inhabitants even yet, stands on Duke of Gloucester street, and resembles to a considerable degree the Wythe mansion. The London home of Mr. and Mrs. Paradise had been a famous resort for celebrities in the literary, artistic and dramatic world, Garrick, Sir Joshua Reynold, Dr. Samuel Johnson, Hannah Moore and their contemporaries being favorite fre-

quenters of their hospitable mansion. Boswell's 'Life of Johnson' and 'Miss Burney's Diary' contain pleasant allusions to these gatherings of congenial spirits. Need it be said that in the refined and cultivated society of the viceregal capital the Parades' magnetism was quite as powerful as in London, and that the old house, within sight of the writer as he pens these lines, has been the scene of many a brilliant assemblage made up of Virginia's best society. The identical table around which the London celebrities had often sat (perhaps without talking "as they do in books") graced this old house until a short time ago, when it was carried off to Norfolk by a descendant of the charming old couple.

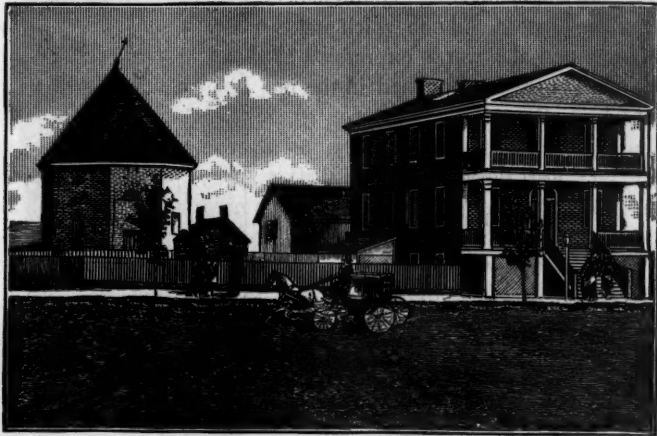
Facing the east end of Duke of Gloucester street, in Williamsburg's palmy days, stood the capitol building. The first was destroyed by fire in 1746. It was an imposing structure in the form of a capital H, with portico in the centre and a cupola on the summit. The second building was the scene of many stirring events during the the Stamp Act trouble and in the uprising of 1775. It was here that Patrick Henry startled the continent first by threatening rebellion against his king.* But this, too, in 1832, shared a like fate to that of its predecessor when a female college was put up and flourished well before the late war. The fiery element destroyed it also, and now nothing is seen save a mass of skeleton walls, which it is to be hoped will some day be restored and made to serve as useful a purpose as ever in the olden times. A visitor here at the time of this writing, who had been a tutor in the institution during its prime, remarked: "Williamsburg, in those days, had not its superior anywhere for etiquette, refinement and intelligence." She has not lost these attributes of a university town, although all the waves and storms of adversity and war have passed over her.

Close by the city hotel and opposite the court house is an octagonal brick structure known by the name of "The Powder Horn." The roof rises to a sharp peak, the whole affair suggesting a likeness to nothing else in heaven above or earth beneath. Yet it filled an important place in the events of colonial history preceding the revolution. It was built by Governor Alexander Spotswood in 1716, as a storehouse for ammunition to be used in his exploring expedition over the Blue Ridge by the intrepid band of cavaliers whose banner was inscribed with the

*Here he uttered those memorable words: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell and George III.—" but here he paused, upon which the cry of "Treason! Treason!!" being raised in the house, he added, "may profit by their example! If that be treason, make the most of it."

legend, "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe." In 1774, Lord Dunmore, the governor, threw the colony into a state of ferment by removing the ammunition thus stored there to the man-of-war *Magdalen*. This arbitrary proceeding was the signal for the first assembling of an armed force in the colony in defiance of royal authority. This force was headed by Patrick Henry, and marched upon the city; but Dunmore soon fled to Portsmouth to seek protection in a British vessel.

Facing the northern extremity of Duke of Gloucester street, flanked on the east by the road of Richmond and on the west by the thoroughfare to



THE POWDER HORN. WILLIAMSBURG, VA.

Jamestown, the original settlement of the colonists, stands the illustrious College of William and Mary. Only one other university in America outranks it in age, while none surpass it in the number of brilliant scholars who have gone out from the shadow of its walls to become shining figures on the pages of American history.

An institution with which the name of George Washington is intimately associated; where Thomas Jefferson, the immortal author of the Declaration of Independence, President James Madison, President John Tyler, General Winfield Scott, and countless others, celebrated or otherwise,

graduated or obtained much of their education, could not be other than a feature of absorbing interest.

In the centre of the graveled avenue leading from the entrance gate to the college steps, is erected the historical statue of Sir Norborne D. Berkeley, Lord Botetourt, a finely chiseled piece of work in Italian marble, but which has sustained rough usage from time to time, having passed through two wars and suffered perhaps no tenderer treatment at the hands of mischievous college boys. Still, though mutilated in some parts, the face made expressive by the artist's cunning is that of a genial, kindly man—a boyish, rollicking countenance rather than an austere, and one which makes easily understood the warm expression of affection and veneration couched in the inscriptions beneath:

The
Right Honourable
Norborne Berkeley
Baron de Botetourt
Her Majesty's
Late Lieutenant and
Governor General of the
Colony and Dominion
of Virginia.

And in the base, on the opposite side, is this injunction:

America, Behold Your Friend!

It seems remarkable that so meritorious a work of art, and a monument of one so well-beloved in the colony over which he ruled so acceptably, should be allowed to remain exposed to the influences of storm and sun and the vandalism of heedless, inappreciative people, but the managers doubtless understand and appreciate the situation and have good reasons for not giving the baron's statue shelter in the college hall, or a niche in the spacious library.

The trees in the campus are apparently of recent growth, owing to the fact that not many years ago the magnificent old lindens brought from



STATUE OF LORD BOTETOURT.

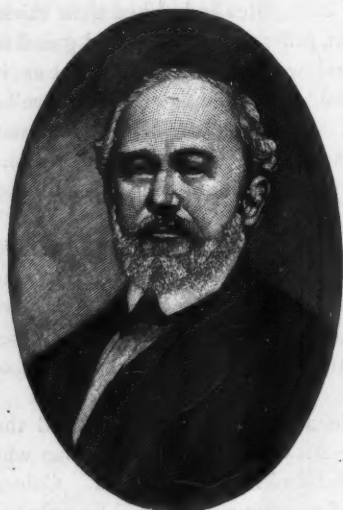
Scotland were destroyed by an army of caterpillars which infested this region before the introduction of the now unjustly maligned English sparrow. A group of mild-eyed dairy cows grazed or reclined lazily in the luxuriant pasture spread broadly out behind the college, there being neither sound nor presence to disturb or make them afraid. The noon-day sun shone down resplendent, yet with heat tempered by cool breezes blown from off the James on one side and the York river on the other, not so very far away, while it was not difficult to imagine the breath of old ocean blended with them, so benign was the atmosphere.

There was the ancient well near the north side of the college, from whence a long line of collegiates had slaked their thirst in sultry days long gone by. Washington, Jefferson, Madison had gazed far down its dripping, moss-covered walls and watched the old bucket as it came up overflowing with liquid crystal. I turned from the old well in the shady south wing of the college, where, as true as I am a sentimental wanderer, I saw in the walls made humid by continued shade, the daintiest ferns, mosses and lichens growing and flourishing despite the scant nutriment afforded by the mortar between the bricks. Where but in Old Virginia, except, perhaps, in southern climes, will the traveler's eyes be greeted by such a sight as that? I gathered some of them as souvenirs of that pleasant morning spent in a place hallowed by associations of the past, whose influence, subtle, tangible, yet inexplicable, impresses the soul at every turn, as if some wizard king had breathed a spell of enchantment over all the scene.

"How can I obtain access to the interior and the president?" The question was quickly answered by the gentleman who volunteered to be my escort. "You will find no trouble at all. Colonel Ewell is the kindest, most accessible of gentlemen, and will be only too happy to welcome you to the halls of William and Mary." The reply was certainly reassuring, yet it was no exaggeration of the steady old colonel's hearty reception, accorded in the delightful den in the upper story—a den the very ideal of orderly disorder, such as one would conceive inseparable from a scholar's study—a college president's retreat.

"These are for you," said he, handing me a package or two, neatly folded, from which I find the authentic information that "within twelve years from the settlement of Jamestown, in 1607, steps were taken by the friends of the colonists of Virginia, in England, to establish and endow a college. Land was purchased for this purpose, and a competent gentle-

man, Mr. George Thorpe, sent from England to be its superintendent. The Indian massacres of 1622, in which he, with three hundred and forty of the colonists, including nine of the college tenants, perished, effectually defeated the attempt. Again, in 1660, and with more success, provision for a college was made by the colonial assembly. Steps were taken to collect money by a subscription. Lands were ordered to be purchased and a building to be erected. It did not receive a local habitation and a name until 1693, when a charter of the College of William and Mary, conferring valuable privileges and rich endowments, was granted by the sov-



BENJAMIN S. EWELL.

ereigns, William and Mary. Assuming 1693 to be the date of its foundation, it is, next to Harvard, the oldest college in the country. The charter was not obtained without opposition. When the Rev. Dr. James Blair, the founder, in fact, of the college, went to Attorney-General Seymour, with the royal command to prepare a charter, he was met by remonstrances against 'the expensive liberality.' Seymour declared he saw no occasion for a college in Virginia. Dr. Blair replied that ministers of the church were needed there, as the people of Virginia had souls as well as they of England, and a college was necessary to educate them.

'Souls,' exclaimed Seymour, 'damn their souls—let them make tobacco.' The charter, however, was granted in spite of Seymour, and the college entered upon a career of usefulness which had no interruption until 1705, when the building, only then just completed, was destroyed by fire. It was speedily rebuilt, and flourished well until the memorable year of 1776. During this period, the king, lords and commons of England seemed to vie with each other in their benefactions to this favorite institution. The charter gave it large grants of money and land, the duty of a penny a pound on all tobaccos exported from the colonies of Virginia and Maryland, besides other important sources of revenue. It was then by far the richest college in America, its total revenues amounting to four thousand pounds sterling per annum, or \$20,000. Its influence in the colony could not be otherwise than great and beneficent. Indeed, Bishop Meade says that at that day, 'Williamsburg, while it was the seat of government and of the College of William and Mary, was, to a great extent, Virginia.'"

The justice of the good bishop's remark becomes more and more apparent as one's acquaintance with Williamsburg and William and Mary college, past and present, extends; and this would be ample apology, were any needed, for lingering over each record and tradition bearing upon the social and intellectual development of the people of Virginia, "mother of Presidents," statesmen, heroes and true gentlemen.

For seventy years prior to the Revolution the average number of students at William and Mary was about sixty, and at the beginning of the Revolution it was seventy. But with the Revolution came change of fortune, and William and Mary, in 1776, the richest college in North America, lost all its endowment save about \$2,500 in money and the then unproductive land granted by the English crown.

Thirty students and three professors joined the army at the outbreak of the War for Independence, among them a long list of names afterward illustrious in the history of Virginia, while Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, John Tyler, sr., Benjamin Harrison, Carter Braxton, the Blands, the Pages, the Randolphs and others shed luster upon their *alma mater*. In 1788 George Washington was made chancellor of the college, and notwithstanding even its depressed condition at the close of the Revolution, it speedily rebounded under the guidance and teaching of Bishop Madison and his associates, and continued prosperous until the breaking out of the late civil war, with an average of seventy-five students. But from earliest infancy the college had suffered disaster as well as enjoyed prosperity,

and, like a loyal subject, shared uncomplainingly the misfortunes of war. Long before the Revolution, in 1705, her walls were burnt down during Governor Nott's reign, to be rebuilt under Governor Spotswood's administration. In 1781 exercises were suspended and the buildings were alternately occupied, the summer before the siege of Yorktown, by the British, the French and the Americans. While occupied by the latter the college was injured and the president's house destroyed by fire. Again in 1859 the college was burnt down, but rebuilt only, however, to be laid low once more by the devouring element in 1862, on the ninth of September, being set on fire by a band of reckless, drunken soldiers whom their commander could not control. The grounds and buildings



WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.

not destroyed were held by the United States forces from May, 1862, to September, 1865, for depots and other purposes. In July, 1869, the main building was restored and the college once more threw wide open her doors for students, never more, let us hope, to be closed again by fire or flood, or any other misfortune.

The original college building was designed by Sir Christopher Wren, the celebrated architect of St. Paul's cathedral, and the style of the first has been followed in most salient points in each succeeding structure. We miss, however, the row of dormer windows in the clerstory of the early buildings, but as much as possible of the original material has been

utilized in each restoration, as the alternately glazed bricks and portions of unfallen walls left undisturbed give evidence of. The spacious library contains about six thousand volumes, many of them as old as and some older than the college itself. President Ewell ushered me into this apartment to show me a record book, dating back to the time of the college's first opening. It was richly and substantially bound, and notwithstanding its great age, still admirably preserved. The entry to which President Ewell called particular attention was that referring to the occasion upon which Benjamin Franklin visited the college, and had the degree of Master of Arts conferred upon him, A. D. 1756. This, however, was by no means all of interest; to enumerate all would be to copy the entire book. So precious is this volume in the eyes of President Ewell that he seldom permits it to go to any hands but his own, and he has a right to the feeling, for not only is it priceless in itself, but it has an added value in the president's esteem because of his having rescued it with the seals of the college, at the peril of his life, from the flames of 1859.

From the fascinating pages of this old volume we turn and begin the round of multiplied shelves upon shelves of books, quaint, curious and otherwise, of all ages, tongues and climes, embracing all the departments of theology, science and literature. Realizing cruelly that you are but a temporary sojourner, it would be strange did not your heart droop in despair, your eyes grow blind with bewilderment to turn over and see rare volumes, visions of which have seldom floated before the dreaming eyes of the wildest book-worm. And how think you, gentle reader, were all these book spreserved during all the repeated vicissitudes of fire that came to the college? The answer is, the Williamsburg ladies, who count no jeopardy appalling which means assistance to William and Mary or old Christ's church, flocked to the conflagration scene and carried the books in their arms to their own homes, there to be kept in safety until the library walls were restored.

From the library a large double door opens into the chapel. This is extremely plain, but under its floor lies the dust of men whose names are illustrious. Sir John Randolph was the first whose bones were buried here, and it is believed that the body of Lord Botetourt reposes in the same vault. Peyton Randolph, president of the first American congress, and John Randolph, attorney-general for the crown for the colony of Virginia, sons of Sir John, Bishop Madison, the first bishop of Virginia, and Chancellor Nelson were also buried here, along with others of perhaps

less distinction though equal worth. What wonder that Bishop Meade described this chapel as a miniature Westminster Abbey! Surely, under no other college sanctuary in America rests such distinguished dust as that which here awaits the call of the resurrection morning. Yet, while these sacred tombs escaped the fury of the flames in each of the college's fiery experiences, they were not left undesecrated by the drunken mob which in 1862 set fire to unoffending William and Mary. When the ungovernable soldiers of the Fifth Pennsylvania cavalry held carnival here, the vaults were broken open and the coffins despoiled of the silver breastplates, and everything else of value was carried away. It is only justice to their commander, however, to add that this desecration was checked as soon as possible when it became known to him.

On the green, exactly on the spot where once stood the governor's Palace, now stands a building known as the Matty school. Why it should have this singular title is difficult to understand on any other ground than that the husband of the lady who endowed it was named Matthew. This school is auxiliary to William and Mary, and Colonel Ewell gives the following particulars concerning its endowment:

"Mrs. Mary Whaley, of Bruton parish, by will dated February 16, 1841, devised a piece of land containing about ten acres, on which were erected a schoolhouse, called Matty's school, and a dwelling-house for the master, 'upon trust to continue the same for the use of said school, viz: and to teach the neediest children of the parish, to eternalize Matty's school forever.' The testatrix also gave fifty pounds sterling, and the residue of her estate after paying certain legacies. Mrs. Whaley died in 1842. The executor failed to comply with the terms of the will, and a suit was instituted in the colonial court, and a decree obtained requiring the heir-at-law to convey the land, and the executor to pay the fifty pounds and account for the residue. The conveyance was soon after made, but the money was not paid, and a suit was brought against the executor in the English court of chancery, where it was decreed, in 1752, that the charity ought to be established, and that the executor should pay into the court five hundred pounds sterling. This was paid and ordered to be invested in English securities. Nothing further was done till 1866, when an English attorney, after corresponding with the faculty and learning that the college would consent to execute the trust upon certain stipulations, applied to the Chancery court for (and obtained) a decree, directing the whole sum to be paid to the college. The net amount thus received was eight thousand

two hundred dollars "This whole transaction reflects great credit on the English people and government. That a sum of money, and its accumulation of dividends, belonging to parties in a foreign land, should be paid without dispute or cavil, after a lapse of more than a century, notwithstanding the bitterness of feeling resulting from two severe wars, is an evidence of national integrity and honor that ought to make every American, who has English blood in his veins, feel proud of his ancestry."

"Come again to-morrow afternoon," said my genial entertainer, as he bade me adieu on the college porch when twilight shades were deepening all around, "and I will show you a faithful likeness, done with 'pen and ink, of General Washington."

The morrow's afternoon found me promptly within the college walls. Colonel Ewell and his inseparable namesake, Ewell Scott, were already there. The wide hall doors were open, and the salubrious breezes, blown across two rivers and the sea, made the interior on that sultry August day a welcome retreat. While awaiting the leisure of the president, I roamed at will among the inexhaustible attractions of that ideal library. High above and all around hung life-size portraits of presidents, bishops, chancellors and others distinguished in the annals of the institution. Everything is reposeful and serene. There is no rude noise to disturb, no exasperating bewilderment from the whirl of the "madding crowd," "The world forgetting, by the world forgot," if a student could not become a scholar here, the fault would be his own, not that of his surroundings and facilities. A scholastic recluse would be at home, cloistered within these walls, so affluent with the magnetism of an illustrious past, and the aspiring youth need seek no farther for the favorable influences which make possible all his ambitiousi magination pictures worthy or desirable of attainment.

But here comes the cavalier president down from his delightful den in the upper regions, and off he leads me to his house on the northern side of the campus. The foundation of this mansion was laid in 1732, but in 1781, during the Revolution, the building was burnt down while occupied by some French soldiers who were on their way to Yorktown, twelve miles distant. Louis XVI, however, generously rebuilt it, besides giving five or six hundred volumes to the college library. When Lord Cornwallis entered Williamsburg, on his way to Yorktown, the house was occupied by President Madison and his wife, who were summarily ejected to provide headquarters for the haughty British general. And here was I

in the same old house where Washington, Jefferson, Franklin and the surrendering British general tarried long before, whose shades seemed gliding in and out among the massive pictures and stately furniture of "ye olden time."

"Here is my likeness of Washington," said mine host, as he handed me from the mantel a small pen-and-ink sketch of the father of his country. Beneath it was this historic legend:

Made, in 1790, at dinner, by one of his guests, supposed to be Ben H. Latrobe, architect of the United States' capitol. It was carefully preserved by Mr. Frank Lowndes, and after his death by his son, the late Francis Lowndes, of Georgetown, D. C., who recently deceased at an advanced age, as a memorial of such an occasion, and because of the estimate in which it was held as an accurate and faithful likeness by George Washington's cotemporaries.

Judging by the prevailing standards, the portrait was, as the foregoing sets forth as the opinion of his cotemporaries, a faithful likeness, and more in accord with preconceived ideas of the great hero's appearance than more ambitious efforts, even the celebrated one by Stuart in the capitol at Richmond. Whether we, at this remote period, are entitled to an opinion is questionable, except so far as individual taste goes; but this treasure of Colonel Ewell's at least has the surpassing merit of having been taken from life and for that reason is priceless.

To return to the college, I cannot forbear once more quoting Colonel Ewell, who says as to her teaching that not only was it after the Oxford order of the humanities, but her training was the most refined and urbane. Williamsburg was the site of the viceregal palace, and her court far more moral than that of Charles II, while quite as ornate in manners. The breeding and cultivation were of the old regime of knights, under the guidance of the Episcopal clergy, and to this day there is a marked superiority of address among the old families, and old servants, even, of Williamsburg, over any other people of town or county in Virginia. She is so retired and ancient that young America and modern manners have not yet fully abashed her gentle, soft and polished politeness, as elsewhere—almost everywhere—in the land.

In President Madison's administration, the cost of one year's tuition, including board, lodging, etc., was one thousand pounds of tobacco, the pupil being restricted to instruction under two professors only. For three tutors, fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco (the current coin of the colony) was expected. In these days the annual cost is from two hundred dollars to three hundred dollars. What better heritage could a boy desire than a parchment setting forth that he had completed the curriculum of William

and Mary college, the pride of Virginia? Before the modern facilities of travel were introduced, this old town was not easily accessible, but since the completion of the Chesapeake & Ohio, it is brought into close communion with the world, and if the hopes and efforts of President Ewell are realized and rewarded, William and Mary will yet regain her prestige and resume her rank among the proudest seats of learning in the world.

Williamsburg is a perpetual reminder of those precious things which our dear old grandmothers used to fold away in lavender. Here one lives over again the good old days of the cavaliers, when every house was the theatre of princely hospitality and entertainment; when the gentlemen were attired in velvet knee-breeches, lace-frilled shirt bosoms, cocked hats, waving plumes and swallow-tailed coats; while powdered perukes, swords, gauntlets and other paraphernalia made up the outward and visible marks of colonial aristocracy. If we declare our unswerving loyalty to nineteenth-century progress, its achievements and institutions, its constant reaching out for the new to the discarding of the old, may we be permitted to draw one half-smothered, treasonable sigh for the splendors of the past, chief among which is the mimic scene so brilliant and so brief, the reign of the cavaliers in the Old Dominion?

I came to the old colonial capital for a day; my stay was prolonged for a week, and even then I departed much against my inclination. I had trodden soil made sacred by the presence of heroes, sages, philosophers, of an age gilded with greatness, and over which even yet shines the aureole of unforgotten glory. My sojourn was an oasis in the dull routine of ordinary life, the memory of which neither time nor distance will ever dim. So adieu to the dear old church as I pass. A long, last gaze at the time-honored graves whose crumbling monuments mark the dreamless abodes of dust which once enshrined such brave and gentle souls. The dew has not yet been absorbed from the graveyard grass, and the plentiful roses are still drooping with their crystal bath of the previous night. The ivy on the gable is already musical with the murmur of the countless bees who haunt its sylvan shade, and the holy calm of the place is unprofaned by any sound save that of bee and bird. Other scenes may kindle the light of pleasure in the pilgrim's eye, but in his heart there will remain a niche sacred only and forevermore to the memory of delightful old Williamsburg.

JAMES DREW SWEET.

THE GROWTH OF PITTSBURGH IRON AND STEEL.

I.

There are many to whom the words Pittsburgh and iron are synonymous, and certainly no discussion of the one can long be maintained without reference to the other. The far-reaching influence which the city wields in the metal world has been so long recognized that any elaboration in that direction would be needless. Pennsylvania began to give evidence at an early date of a field of wealth and an incentive to industry in this direction, and in 1683 we find William Penn himself recording the existence of "copper and iron in divers places," and two years later he returns to the same subject as one that seems to have made a deep impression on his thrifty mind. In 1702, we find him endeavoring to engage reluctant capital in the establishment of iron works. In 1716, the idea that had found such set lodgment with him became a realization at the hands of others, and the great Keystone state saw laid the foundations of her mighty industry. This inauguration came by means sufficiently humble. One Thomas Rutter, a blacksmith, located a bloomary forge in Berks county, on the Manatawny creek. The second effort was made in Chester county, where Samuel Nutt, an English Quaker, built the Coventry forge somewhere near 1717. The iron turned out from these primitive establishments was well spoken of in cotemporary opinion, that of Rutter being "highly set by, by all the smiths, who say that the best of Swedes' iron doth not exceed it." Some of the Nutt product was sent over to England, and highly approved. The third venture was made by Thomas Rutter and others in 1720, when the famous old Colebrookdale furnace was erected on Ironstone creek in Berks county. It supplied Manatawny and other forges with pig-iron; was rebuilt in 1733; and was last heard of in 1793. Durham furnace was built in 1727, and in November of the year following three tons of its pig-iron were shipped to England. An interesting point on this colonial iron-making is touched upon by Mr. James M. Swank, who says in his admirable history:

Samuel Nutt died in 1737. In his will he made provision for the erection of a new furnace by his wife, on the south branch of French creek, which was commenced in 1737 and probably finished in 1738. This furnace was called Warwick. In 1740 its management fell into the hands of Robert Grace, who

had married into the Nutt family, and was a friend of Benjamin Franklin. In 1742 Franklin invented his celebrated stove, the model of which he presented to his friend Grace, who afterward cast many stoves at the furnace. Warwick furnace continued in operation during a part of almost every year from its erection in 1738 down to 1867 when its last blast came to an end, and the furnace was abandoned. During the Revolution it was very active in casting cannon for the Continental army, some of which were buried upon the approach of the British in 1777 and have only recently been recovered, having lain undisturbed for a hundred years.

Other enterprises followed these pioneers in some profusion, and in 1746, Pennsylvania's first rolling-mill was built in Delaware county. Cornwall furnace, Lebanon county, erected in 1742, is "the oldest active charcoal furnace in the United States, has always used charcoal, and was in operation as late as 1882." After the freeing of the colonies from English rule, and the removal of the hampering restrictions placed upon it by the British government in the old years of dependence, the iron business extended rapidly, and began to move toward the west. The advent of the great industry west of the Alleghany mountains is ascribed to the year 1790, when John Hayden of Fayette county, by the aid of a common smith's fire and his own skill and brains, managed to make iron in small quantities but of very respectable quality. Backed by aid from the east, Hayden in 1792 built the Fairfield furnace on George creek. A forge accompanied it. The Alliance iron works on Jacob's creek were blown in on November 1, 1790, and were operated with success through a number of years. The growth in iron-making establishments in western Pennsylvania was rapid from that date onward. "In 1805" says one authority, "there were five furnaces and six forges in Fayette county. In 1811 there were ten blast furnaces, one air furnace, eight forges, three rolling- and slitting-mills, one steel furnace and five trip-hammers. The first nail factory west of the Alleghanies was built at Brownsville, before 1800, by Jacob Bowman, at which wrought nails, made by hand, were produced in large quantities."

The Alsacian, George Anshutz, who brought to America some skill and a good share of energy, is generally awarded the honor of being the first maker of iron within the present limits of the city of Pittsburgh. He lived to see the industry well on its way to success, even though his own venture was not a paying investment, and died in Pittsburgh in February of 1837. His little furnace that was completed at Shady Side about 1792, was abandoned in a couple of years for lack of ore. He was connected with larger and more secure establishments at later dates.

The beginning of nail-making in Pittsburgh was likewise humble. The pioneer of the business was probably William Porter, whose factory, as

early as 1807, stood on the corner of First avenue and Market street. Nails were then cut and headed by hand, a good cutter accomplishing some two hundred and fifty pounds a day of a ten penny nail, while a header would make some ninety pounds in the same time. The hand machines used were of a singular and rude construction, having a beam overhead, and at either end attached to the shears and treadle. The header was compelled to pick up each nail and put it into the die, then press on the treadle and hold it tight until he made the head. This required four strokes of his hammer which weighed four pounds, so that in heading the ninety pounds above mentioned the workman was compelled to raise twenty thousand two hundred pounds. Mr. Porter died in 1808 and was succeeded by Christopher Cowan, an Irishman* who had been successful as a merchant and who extended the business, manufacturing wrought nails and spikes and other articles, such as axes, hoes, chains, etc. Mr. Cowan's business so increased that he soon established a branch at Nashville, Tennessee, sending as his agent William Carroll, who was afterward a general during the war of 1812, and Jackson's aid and assistant in the battle of New Orleans. I subjoin the following incident in illustration of the slow and crude methods of the early days. Sometime in 1810 Mr. Cowan required the transaction of some business of immediate importance with the Nashville house, and did not care to wait the uncertain slowness of the mails. He accordingly arranged with Reuben Miller, sr., the father of the gentleman quoted below, who had been for some time in his employ and that of Mr. Porter his predecessor, to make the trip on horseback. Mr. Miller left Pittsburgh, and on the thirteenth day thereafter dined with Mr. Carroll in Nashville, riding the same horse over the entire distance of seven hundred miles. On one occasion, between Louisville and Nashville, he rode fifty miles in which only one habitation was in sight. On his return he made a circuit through Kentucky, from Louisville to Lexington and Frankfort, calling on customers and making collections. The general currency was silver, and a good portion of it consisted of cut silver, or the severed portions of dollars, halves and quarters, which had been so divided to supply the lack of small change. These were commonly known as "sharp shins." At Lexington he exchanged all for currency that he could, receiving principally Virginian money. He purchased two horses, obtained packs and pack-saddles, loaded up and started for home, which he

*Several authorities call Mr. Cowan an Englishman, but Reuben Miller, jr., who knew him personally, pronounces that an error.

reached in safety, leading two horses loaded with silver, and riding the one he took away.

Mr. Reuben Miller, jr., who has seen many of the developments in the iron business of Pittsburgh during the past seventy-five years, has kindly furnished me with some recollections, which are here presented in a condensed form. The first rolling-mill of the city was erected in 1811 or 1812, and was built by Christopher Cowan. It was called the Pittsburgh rolling-mill, and was located on the corner of Penn avenue and Cecil's alley, a portion of the same ground now being occupied by the fourth ward school house. This mill did not make bar iron, but confined itself to smooth rolling, such as nail plates, band and sheet iron, and slitting into nail, deck and spike rods. "I can remember," said Mr. Miller, "the erection of this mill, and the important day on which the engine was to be put into operation. A large number of citizens had assembled to witness the great event. The engine was an upright cylinder, with a large log for a walking beam. At noon the fire was put under the battery of boilers, and some time elapsed before enough steam was generated to warrant an attempt at starting. When the time came and the engineer let on the steam, there was much whistling and blowing, but no answering motion came from the great stubborn fly-wheel. A call for help was made, and the bystanders armed themselves with levers and handspikes and went at the wheel to force it over the centre. It was some time before that purpose was accomplished, but after repeating it several times it went off as a thnig of life, and the engine of Pittsburgh's first rolling-mill was sturdily at work. The engineer permitted some of us boys to climb on the walking beam, and we went up and down, highly delighted with our novel ride."

This mill was operated by Mr. Cowan for a short time and then sold to Ruggles, Stackpole & Whiting, who soon introduced the nail machine. They continued the business a few years, when the works passed into the hands of Richard Bowen. During some years of hard labor Mr. Bowen acquired considerable wealth, and then sold the establishment, which had gained a wide reputation for fair dealing, to Smith, Royer & Co., who extended the business and run it for some years. This partnership was dissolved and it passed to the firm of Turbet, Royer & Co., who introduced the puddling process of manufacturing all kinds of bar and mercantile iron, and who after many years of toil had to give it up as unsuccessful. The mill was sold and dismantled, and so the first venture of its kind

came to an end. After Mr. Cowan retired from business he located at his farm and country-seat at Woodville, Allegheny county, where he remained until his death. Only one of his children, the widow of the late John F. Wrenshall, is now living, and with her family occupies the old family mansion.

An attempt to compass a detailed history of Pittsburgh iron and steel within the limits of a magazine sketch would end in failure, and I shall therefore present only such points as are of the most general interest. The story is a marvelous one, and the results which energy, skill and opportunity have combined to produce are such as no other industrial age of like duration has accomplished anywhere in the history of the world. The smallness of the beginning has been noted above, but the greatness of to-day can only be measured by an examination of the acres and acres of busy activity found in the iron districts of this city. Census enumerations and board of trade figures can furnish much information, but the living fact can only be seen where it finds its daily life and carries on its untiring toil.

In the early days of this century cotton was king, and the manufacturing spirit that even then dominated young Pittsburgh reached out after this great staple of the south and made it one of her industrial beginnings. In 1804 she carded and spun one thousand dollars worth, and I suppose there were those among her citizens who saw for her a better future in this soft and fleecy texture than was offered by the rough and black material that came from the earth. But Joseph McClurg saw in a different light, and in that year the first iron foundry of the city came into life. Its location was on the corner of Fifth avenue and Smithfield street, on the lot where the custom house now stands. There was a steady growth after that, and in 1807 we find the town in the possession of the above foundry, McClurg's air furnace, one wire-weaving mill, and three nail factories, one of which annually made one hundred tons of cut and hammered nails. Five miles up the Allegheny river they had already commenced the making of cutlery, locks, scythes, sickles, and a variety of light hardware. It was in this year that the nail business was accelerated by the patenting of several machines for the making of cut and other nails, the most important of which was that which cut and headed the nail at one operation. The occupation of the heavy hammer with its four strokes, as mentioned above, was soon gone and the steady and patient machine took its place. By 1810 two hundred tons of nails were made in Pittsburgh annually. A new

branch of the iron industry had already found establishment here, and in 1811 the steamer *New Orleans*, the first on the western waters, was wholly constructed at Pittsburgh, including her engine, boiler and machinery. Two years later we find the two founderies, McClurg's and Beelen's, in operation, casting six hundred tons each year; the making of a large amount of ironmongery and coarse hardware; a small foundry for the casting of butt hinges, carried on by Mr. Price; an edge tool and cutlery factory owned by Brown, Barker & Butler; a steam manufactory of shovels, spades, etc., owned by Foster & Murray; Cowan's rolling-mill; factories for the making of locks, coffee mills, files, door handles and knitting needles; the steel furnace of Tuper & McKowan; and the steam engine works of Rogers & Tustin, and of Stockhouse. This year, 1813, was full of business generally. Congress, on February 25, imposed a duty on iron wire equal to that already on iron, steel and other manufactures of iron. Mr. Trench Coxe, in a digest of the census returns of 1810, reported to the secretary of the treasury that from a careful estimate of all the facts within his knowledge he was led to believe that, despite an interrupted importation of certain raw materials, the several branches of manufactures had advanced, since the autumn of 1810, at the full rate of twenty per cent. Pittsburgh had her share of this increase, as she also carried her portion of the general business troubles that came after the close of the war of 1812. In 1819 her second rolling-mill was built, the Union, on the Monongahela river. It possessed four puddling furnaces, which were the first in Pittsburgh, and was also the first mill in the city to roll bar iron. It was in this same year that the embarrassments which had been pressing heavily on the manufacturing classes since the peace, culminated in severe sufferings and financial distress. Importations had exceeded exportations, and the balance was of course paid in coin. A general paralysis fell on all branches of industry, and Rhode Island, New York and Pennsylvania were the principal sufferers. Philadelphia and Pittsburgh were especially marked. The following from an old record faithfully portrays the situation:

A committee of citizens of Pittsburgh, in December, reported the whole number of hands employed in that town and vicinity, in 1815, to have been 1,960, and the value of their manufactures was \$2,617,833. In 1819 the hands numbered only 672, and the value of their manufactures was \$832,000. In the steam engine manufactories the workmen were reduced from 290 to 24, and the value of their work from \$300,000 to \$40,000. In glass works and glass-cutting the hands were reduced from 169 to 40, and the product from \$235,000 to \$35,000, the reduction in flint glass alone having been \$75,000. In the manufacture of cotton, wire, umbrellas, yellow queensware, pipes and linen there was no longer a single hand employed.

The question of protection came to the front with renewed stress and reinforced power, and numerous appeals for relief were poured in upon congress. The duties were as high then as that body seemed prudent they should go, although the secretary of the treasury favored an increase. The distress not only continued but grew in volume, and on the assembling of congress in December, 1820, memorials and petitions came from all directions, complaining of the inadequacy of the general tariff and existing revenue laws to afford suitable protection to native industry. Little was done in the line of relief until in 1824, when a law was passed extending to several branches of manufacture a more decided measure of protection than had before been given. By 1825 Pittsburgh had commenced once more her upward course, and we find seven steam rolling-mills in active operation, making bar and sheet iron, nails, etc. There were also eight air foundries and a cupola furnace. Six steam engine factories were in operation, and Eichbaum's wire factory had recently renewed its mission by the aid of a ten-horse power engine. Sligo rolling-mill was erected that year by Robert T. Stewart and John Lyon, but was partly burned down. The total value of the Pittsburgh manufactures in 1825 was estimated at two million five hundred thousand dollars, and the general distress of the country was less felt here than at almost any other point. From the Pittsburgh directory for 1826 we learn that six iron mills were then in operation: Sligo rolling-mill on the south side of the Monongahela river, opposite the foot of Market street, and owned by Robert T. Stewart and John Lyon; the Juniata iron works, situated on the Allegheny river in the Northern Liberties, owned by Dr. Peter Shoenberger; Grant's Hill iron works, owned by William H. Hays and David Adams; the Union rolling-mill, located in Kensington and owned by Messrs. Baldwin, Robinson, McNickle & Beltzhoover; the Pittsburgh rolling-mill on Penn street and Cecil alley, owned by R. Bowen; and Pine Creek rolling-mill on Pine creek, a few miles above Pittsburgh, owned by M. B. Belknap. The number of hands employed by each was as follows: Union, 100; Pittsburgh, 21; Sligo, 30; Juniata, 60; Grant, 30; Pine Creek, 30. There were eight foundries, the Pittsburgh, Jackson, Eagle, Phoenix, Stackhouse, Allegheny, Stackhouse & Thompson's, and Birmingham, converting annually into castings 2,126 tons of metal, employing 106 men and consuming 65,000 bushels of coal. There were also six nail factories, producing yearly 3,708,887 pounds of nails, at a value of \$273,644. The results that had followed even such protective legislation as

was already obtained determined the manufacturers on a new effort. There was a combined and systematic action among them, and a convention of the friends of domestic industry was held at Harrisburg on July 30, 1827, delegates from thirteen of the New England and Middle states being present. The subject was fully and ably discussed. A memorial was drawn up and adopted and laid before congress, accompanied by a bill containing a higher schedule of duties. The result was the passage of a new tariff act, giving a greater measure of protection to the manufacturing interests. This action of the manufacturers excited the south to a new crusade against tariff legislation. The planters declared such measures as sectional, oppressive to themselves and likely to produce retaliating discriminations against their great staples. They girded themselves for the fight, which was waged with much bitterness, but protection won, and the law of May 19, 1828, was the first act regarded by the manufacturers as really protective of their interests. In this year the iron manufacture of Pennsylvania amounted to 22,600 tons of bar and rolled iron, and 14,000 tons of castings, equal to 48,000 tons of pig iron.

In 1829 Pittsburgh possessed eight rolling-mills, employing three hundred hands and using six thousand tons of blooms and fifteen hundred tons of pig iron. Her engine factories were already making engines for the northern lakes, for points east of the mountains, and even one to go to far off Mexico. She was supplying the south with small steam engines, sugar mills and sugar kettles; making ploughs, and manufacturing files and rasps from steel of her own manufacture. In 1830 she built one hundred steam engines. Five new rolling- and slitting-mills had been erected in the last two years, and during this year she rolled 9,282 tons of iron. In 1831 she had two steel furnaces, and a public committee in its report bore testimony that "steel was made in Pittsburgh bearing a fair comparison with the best hoop L or Danamoura steel from England." In this year Pittsburgh castiron began to be used for pillars, caps and sills of windows, and like purposes. In 1833 the Novelty works for the manufacture of platform scales and domestic hardware were established. So rapid was the growth of the city and its chief industry that in 1836 the products of the nine rolling-mills amounted to \$4,160,000; while her eighteen iron foundries, steam engine factories and machine-shops produced \$2,130,000. She built sixty-one steamboats valued at \$960,000, while the productive value of all branches of her manufactures was represented by the grand total of \$15,575,440. The growth and expansion

from this time outward were such that only general results can be touched on. An interesting article in *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine* for 1847 gives a graphic view of the situation in that year. It says:

In manufacturing of all sorts Pittsburgh may be said to monopolize the trade of the west and of a great portion of the lakes. Her steam power is furnished at a cheaper rate than it can be supplied in the east. There are eleven rolling-mills in and about Pittsburgh. Of these eight are capable of producing four thousand tons each of manufactured iron, and employ near one hundred and fifty hands to the mill. This iron is of superior quality and is used for boilers, axles, wire, sheets, and the like. . . . The nail factories here are conducted on a large scale. That of D. Shoenberger has a capacity of two thousand kegs a week, and there are others nearly as large. The present demand is greater than the supply, and the orders extend from Buffalo to New Orleans. There are some twenty or twenty-five foundries in successful operation, in the manufacture of cotton-presses, cannon, sugar-mills, ploughs and the like.

Four years later, in 1851, there were thirteen rolling-mills, with five millions of dollars of capital, employing twenty-five hundred hands, consuming sixty thousand tons of pig metal, and producing bar iron and nails to the amount of four million dollars annually. There were three large foundries and many small ones, with a capital of two million dollars, twenty-five hundred employes, consuming twenty thousand tons of pig metal, and yielding annually articles to the amount of two million dollars. This could be supplemented by a long list of establishments engaged in other lines of iron manufacture. Of 1857 we read that "the progress of iron manufacture in the western states is wonderful. Their consumption of pig iron is estimated in 1857 at over three hundred thousand tons, of which Pittsburgh consumes more than one-half." Concerning the later years I find in a history of Pennsylvania the following facts in an article ascribed to such high authority as William M. Darlington and Thomas J. Bingham:

In iron and steel Pittsburgh claims and is maintained to be the great market of the country. The exact money market of this great trade has always been difficult to arrive at. Much of the iron has been shipped by rail to the various points and much by river. By figures we have at command of the shipment of plate, bar, sheet and rod iron and steel from Pittsburgh in the year 1875, it would seem that there were exported by rail alone to twenty-four different states over 143,000 tons; and 80,000 kegs of nails between twenty different states. These rail exportations, it must not be forgotten, are not probably half the manufacture; that of castings, there were shipped by railroads 5,143,008 pounds in 1874 to twenty-two different states; and that by one railroad alone there were received in 1874 into the city 107,000 tons of pig-iron and blooms, exclusive of the yield of six or eight furnaces running in the city of Pittsburgh, nor the imports by river or other railroads. It is estimated that of shipments made from Pittsburgh at least as much is sent by river as by rail. There are over thirty iron rolling-mills in Pittsburgh, six steel mills and between fifty and sixty iron foundries. These figures but feebly indicate the full extent of the great iron and steel trade of the city, of which the sales alone of articles made of iron subject to taxation, made and returned in the city, were, from March 1875 to March 1876, over \$27,000,000. In 1876 the amount of capital invested was \$70,000,000, and the annual value of the production \$39,000,000.

The latest United States census report throws some light on this great

subject. Pennsylvania made in 1870 a fraction over 50 per cent. of all the iron manufactured in this country, and in 1880 a fraction under 50 per cent. From 1870 to 1880 it increased its production 97 per cent. or from 1,836,808 tons to 3,616,668 tons. The centre of total iron production is found within her borders, on the boundary line between Armstrong and Indiana counties. Of tons of pig iron and direct castings, in 1880 the state made 51 per cent; of rolled iron, 46 per cent.; of Bessemer steel, 56 per cent.; of open hearth steel, 44 per cent.; of crucible steel, 79 per cent.; blooms and bar iron from ore, less than 1 per cent.; blooms from pig and scrap iron 70 per cent. She also produced 569,912 tons of rails of all descriptions, which was 47 per cent. of the total production. Concerning Allegheny county, of which Pittsburgh is the main portion and the headquarters, we find these totals for the year above named:

Number of iron and steel establishments.....	56
Amount of real and personal capital invested in the business.....	\$32,596,364
Total number of employes.....	19,798
Total amount paid in wages during the year.....	\$ 9,966,803
Total value of all materials.....	\$26,827,087
Total value of all products.....	\$46,078,375
Total weight of all products, in tons.....	848,146

There is no exact information attainable as to when the making of steel was commenced in Pittsburgh. Broadmeadow's experiment in the latter part of the decade of 1820-30 was not a great success, the quality of his production not being of a superior kind, probably from the lack of proper material. Some outline of the various attempts in the early days has already been given in these pages, and I will not repeat them here. Suffice it to say that the production of a quality of steel that could hold its own against the English article, is an achievement for which Pittsburgh must have primary honor. Its value as a location for steel-making because of its abundance of fuel of the best quality, the low cost at which its coal and coke can be procured, and its recent development and use of natural gas, was long ago recognized; and that it has no peer in this line is a statement that admits of no contradiction.

This is the bare outline, and to it there can be added a wealth of detail, showing that this stirring and ever busy city at the junction of three rivers, is one of the marvels of the age. In a future issue I hope to gather some of these illustrative facts and place them on permanent record. One method by which history is written, is to look into the lives of men who

have made an impress on their day and generation ; and many points of value and interest can be found in the sketches that follow.

THOMAS M. HOWE.

Among those Pittsburgh delights to honor, and to whom that honor is due by right of good works and a blameless life, Thomas M. Howe is by general consent awarded a high place. While his material interests were largely connected with the department of industry under consideration, his life possessed many sides of public usefulness, and it is difficult in an article of this character to give even an outline of his career, that saw a sudden but peaceful ending in the summer of 1877. He came of a family that took root in an early day in the promising New England soil, being sixth in direct descent from John Howe of Sudbury, Massachusetts, who arrived from Warwickshire, England, sometime between 1630 and 1638. He was born in Williamstown, Vermont, in 1808, and in 1817 was taken to Trumbull county, Ohio, where his father had purchased a part of the township of Bloomfield. In 1828 or 1829 he came to Pittsburgh, taking a position in the wholesale dry goods store of Mason & McDonough, who were then located at the corner of Wood street and Fifth avenue. In a short time he accepted the position of salesman with S. Baird & Co., who were engaged in the same line of trade. So marked were his qualifications, and so rapidly did he advance in the confidence of the business men of the city, that soon after 1830 he became a partner in the new firm of Leavit & Co., that followed the hardware business. In 1839 Mr. Howe was chosen cashier of the Exchange bank, a responsible and honorable position for one of his age, as the bank was the second oldest of those Pittsburgh possessed, the Bank of Pittsburgh only preceding it by a few years. The following tribute to his great ability and entire trustworthiness in that duty is from the pen of one who knew him well:

Every business man of middle age remembers the conspicuous ability with which the affairs of the Exchange bank were thereupon managed, how in critical times it always took a bold stand, its aim constantly being that care was taken of its customers as well as the interests of the city. Banking was then a vastly different business from what it now is. We well remember the graphic account General Howe gave of the difficulties, nay dangers, which thirty years ago had to be encountered in making exchanges and remittances. The financial crises of 1842 and 1845 gave abundance of proof of the courage and boldness of the then cashier of the Exchange bank. These critical seasons were mediately the cause of his active participation in politics, protection and finance going hand in hand in those days.

In 1851 Mr. Howe was elected president of the bank, which position he held until other demands upon his time and attention caused him to commit to new hands the trusts he had so long and worthily fulfilled. Long before this Mr. Howe had become connected with the copper regions of Lake Superior, and with the steel business of Pittsburgh. He was one of the founders of the firm of Hussey, Wells & Co., and on the retirement of Mr. Wells that of Hussey, Howe & Co. was formed and so remained until the time of his death. Something concerning its size and importance in the metal world will be said hereafter, but it will be proper to emphasize the fact that it was among the first to overcome the difficulties confronting the pioneer steel maker, and that to such men as General Howe who gave of their brain and courage, and risked their capital, too much pains cannot be awarded from a generation that is reaping the abundant harvest they sowed. Although he was not closely held to the personal management of this business, he was always a friend to the line of industry it represented, and a champion of its cause at all times and in all places, and no small share of Pittsburgh's advancement in the world of steel is due to that fact. General Howe's impress was also laid with effect on the copper business of the great northwestern lake, and he helped to make that wilderness a tributary to the greatness and growth of the city of his home. He paid a visit to Lake Superior in 1841 or 1842, and it was largely through his influence that the needed capital was raised and that the Pittsburgh & Boston Mining company came into being. Mr. Howe was the secretary and treasurer of the company, and paid a number of visits to the upper peninsula of Michigan in connection with the duties of that position. From causes dependent on the copper market and needless to discuss here, mining operations were suspended by the company in June, 1870, and subsequently the mine was sold to Boston parties, but not until it had been a source of great material profit to those who had brought it into being. Together with the Rev. Charles Avery and Dr. C. G. Hussey, Mr. Howe organized the firm of C. G. Hussey & Co., who were extensively engaged in the manufacture of copper. Upon the retirement of Mr. Avery, Dr. Hussey and Mr. Howe alone constituted the firm, having equal interests, and the firm so continued until Mr. Howe's death. In this as in the steel business, Mr. Howe took no active personal supervision, his time being fully occupied with his numerous other duties.

The consideration which the clear and logical mind of Mr. Howe, in

his early days of mercantile and banking life, was compelled to give to public questions, showed him the need there was for wise and patriotic legislation and the exercise of the right kind of statesmanship, and he was thereby led to take a personal part in politics that he would have otherwise avoided. He was a strong friend of the tariff all his life, and earnestly and patiently labored to make it a help to the manufacturers of our country, and through them to the good of the country at large. He was an ardent and enthusiastic Whig, and threw himself into the Harrison-Tyler contest with great vigor, in that memorable log cabin campaign of 1840. In 1850 he was elected to congress from the Pittsburgh district, and again returned at the close of his term. "His influence on national legislation during this service," says one, "was marked by all that largeness and comprehensiveness of view which formed so prominent a feature in General Howe's character. Evils from which we now are suffering would have been remedied in their incipency had congress then recognized our representative's arguments in favor of regulating commerce between the states." He had so grown in the love and confidence not only of his immediate constituency of Pittsburgh, but all through western Pennsylvania, that when the memorable gubernatorial campaign of 1859 and '60 dawned on the view, a strong and determined effort was made by his friends to place him at Pennsylvania's head during the troubled times that were even then threatened. A monster petition was prepared, and signed by hundreds of the leading citizens, asking Mr. Howe to allow the use of his name in connection with the Republican nomination for governor. Among those signing we find such men as Thomas Bakewell, James K. Moorhead, W. M. Lyon, James Park, Russell Errett, John Harper, A. Bradley, Felix R. Brunot, William Thaw, William M. Darlington, James Laughlin, C. G. Hussey and Reuben Miller, jr. Among other things of like nature, the memorial said:

We turn with pride to you as one possessing our confidence and a rare combination of the requisite qualifications for chief magistrate of the commonwealth. Among these qualities we recognize a strong attachment to the cardinal principles of the Republican party; a high order of administrative ability; perfect familiarity with the most abstruse questions of finance; a just appreciation of true Pennsylvania interests; unswerving integrity in every transaction of public or private life; and last, though not least, a record without a stain in all the relations of life.

A leading Pittsburgh newspaper, in speaking of this call, said:

Mr. Howe has been repeatedly urged of late to become a candidate, but has always answered that his own self-respect would not allow him to canvass for such an office. Our business community have now determined to bring him out in this mode and see if the people of the state will sustain a man thus presented. His nomination is especially asked because of his administrative ability, his financial experi-

ence, his unbending integrity, and his thorough acquaintance with all the interests of the state. . . . His capital on commencing life in Pittsburgh, as a clerk, was a clear head, pure heart, busy hands and entire devotion to his employer's interests.

I make reference to this episode in the life of Mr. Howe to show the estimation in which he was held by the people when in the full tide of his career, and before death had come to bespeak for his memory that gentleness of touch the harshest of us give to those who are gone. One newspaper refers to him as "one of the greatest financiers of the state, a man of purest character and well suited for the chief executive of this commonwealth." Another says: "He is not an office seeker, but has served in congress, at the urgent wish of his friends, with great honor to himself and usefulness to his constituency." "Mr. Howe is no scheming politician," adds another, "who seeks to obtain high position by artifice, by intrigue or by the power of money, but a gentleman of the most delicate sense of honor and of propriety." One could quote scores of such commendations, but these suffice. In his response to the request of all Pittsburgh as conveyed in the above call, Mr. Howe shows his good sense and modesty, and defines his position in a frank and manly way. In conclusion he says:

I have no aspirations, gentlemen, for the office. The varied cares and responsibilities incident to an honest and faithful discharge of its duties present no attractions which could induce me to seek it; and I have invariably replied to repeated inquiries during the last few months, that I was not a candidate. The names of several distinguished gentlemen had been presented for consideration, which I did not hesitate to believe could be rendered more available than my own in the exciting political canvass of the coming year; and whose eminent ability and large experience in public affairs were calculated, in my judgment, more fully to challenge the public confidence. If, however, my fellow-citizens of Allegheny county, differing from me in this conclusion, think that the use of my name at this late hour in the canvass would be calculated to subserve any good purpose, you are authorized to place it at their disposal.

At the great nominating convention held in Harrisburgh early in 1860, Andrew G. Curtin was placed at the head of the ticket, and none acquiesced more heartily in that decision nor gave the ticket a more cordial and earnest support than Thomas M. Howe. His friends made an earnest effort in his behalf, and when the decision was made he appeared on the platform and in a manly and significant speech touched upon some of the troubles then near at hand. He said in the course of these remarks:

While I am duly sensible of the high compliment of having my name presented to your consideration by my immediate neighbors, in connection with the gubernatorial nomination, your action has defeated no political aspirations of my own. . . . With the business men of Allegheny county Colonel Curtin has a large acquaintance, and with whom he is personally a favorite, and I undertake to say that when his name is presented to the voters of that county it will awaken a response which will fully justify the high estimate you have placed on his ability and fitness for the emergency. . . . Let us make a practical demonstration of our fidelity to the constitution by taking the reins of the government into our own hands for the next four years, and administer it in the spirit in which it was framed!

That Thomas M. Howe would have held Pennsylvania up to the high line of her duty during the war had he been chosen—as indeed she was held—is shown in a decisive way by the manner in which he conducted himself during the troubled days that followed. The few years in which he had breathed the air of the “abolition district” of northeastern Ohio, during his boyhood residence in Trumbull county, had intensified his natural sympathy for the oppressed, and made more fervent that innate chivalry of character that always led him to come to the succor of the weak. He was among the first to see that the flame which God had set in the dry stubble of the age could only burn out when the wrong that called it down was consumed, and that if the country lived, slavery must die as the price thereof. He threw himself into the Union cause heart, soul and labor. He accepted the position of assistant adjutant-general, and became a member of Governor Curtin’s staff, that he might find a channel through which his energy and influence could be given for his country’s good. The entire handling and movements of the volunteers and drafted troops of western Pennsylvania in their preliminary organization were in his hands. He worked early and late, day and night, now here and now there, and all without compensation. He enjoyed the highest confidence of the state and general government. He was in frequent communication with Secretary Stanton, and his advice sought in matters touching on western Pennsylvania. He was a friend to the family of the soldier, and in all ways showed his devotion to the great cause. He made many public addresses during those days, and I have culled the following expression as indicative of the patriotic temper of his thought:

We make no offensive war upon the rights of any man or any section. Our great mission is to maintain the supremacy of the constitution and the laws alike over all portions of the Union and to punish with just severity all who seek their overthrow. . . . We are not warring against organized political communities, but against organized conspirators and traitors. . . . This mighty struggle in which we are engaged is characterized by no war of aggression on our part. We seek simply to uphold and preserve the great and deeply cherished principles of liberty and free government which came to us sprinkled with the blood of patriotic ancestors, and to transmit them, as we received them, to the generations of men who shall succeed us.

General Howe was president of the chamber of commerce from its organization until his death. He devoted much of his time and abilities to increase its usefulness and efficiency, and a great share of its success is due to him. He was a moving spirit in the creation of the Cleveland & Pittsburgh railroad, was one of the incorporators of the Allegheny cemetery, and did much to promote that enterprise, holding for thirty years

the presidency of its board of managers; and his time and capital were used in many commercial and financial enterprises for the upbuilding of Pittsburgh and the development of the resources of western Pennsylvania. For over thirty years he was a member of the vestry of Trinity church, and was largely interested in the building of Calvary church, East End, in which he became vestryman and warden. He was a member of the standing committee for a number of years, was deputy to the general convention of 1874, and was also elected to the next. He was a member of the Pennsylvania electoral college in 1860. An effort was made by his friends to make him a candidate for state treasurer in 1864, but on an intimation of that fact being conveyed to him, he firmly declined, and caused all effort for him to cease. In 1874 his name was frequently mentioned in connection with the secretaryship of the treasury, and many political positions would have been bestowed upon him in the course of his long and useful life had he not taken prompt measures in nearly every case to withdraw his name from consideration.

It was out of this usefulness that he was suddenly called, on July 20, 1877. He was prepared, and his end was peace, no fears of the future breaking the calm of his faith. His sickness, erysipelas, was of short duration, and the announcement of his death was received by the people with profound grief. Universal testimony was borne by the press, the institutions he had been connected with, and by the people, of the greatness of the loss which had befallen the community. "Of his life," said a leading newspaper, "it is enough to say that it was pure and upright, and at once a bright example and eminently useful to all classes of the community." "His philanthropic efforts," said another, "his political services, his active and untiring efforts in behalf of the interests of the city and the welfare of the state, combined to make General Howe an ideal citizen." The resolutions adopted by the chamber of commerce described him as one who had "closed a long, active and successful life without leaving a single stain upon his fine name, or a single cloud upon his memory." Those of Trinity church vestry declared that, "a good man has been taken from the cares, the labors, the trials and the joys of the world, and has entered into the rest that remaineth for the people of God." Like expressions were heard from the Allegheny cemetery managers, the Exchange bank and the other institutions with which he had been connected. His portrait was hung in a prominent place in the chamber of commerce and unveiled with appropriate ceremonies. He

was followed to his resting-place by the sincere grief of a people that had known him long and loved him well.

Some idea of the high Christian character of General Howe can be gained from the above, and yet the true quality of his heart and life is only known by those who stood close to him in the every day relations of life. He held an unbounded charity for the failings of others, and a generosity that was responsive to every claim or demand upon it. No man knows how much he gave during his life, and it was entirely characteristic that in his will, which gave his wife entire control of his large estate, he should say, "I desire that she will also appropriate and disburse from time to time, for objects of Christian charity, utility and benevolence, such sums as will in the aggregate equal the amount which shall fall to the share of one of the children." His dealings with men in business life were not only just, but beyond that. Were a doubt in the balance in some transaction, he gave to the other party the benefit of that doubt. I have been told an incident concerning him that has not been published, but so clearly illustrates the bent of his character that I cannot refrain from inserting it here. Previous to the war he had contracted for an elegant residence at the East End. The war came on, and prices of stone and labor went up. General Howe was told that the completion of the contract by the stone mason would ruin the latter. General Howe sent for him, and said to him. "Figure out what you expected to make on the contract." He did so. "Now," said the general, "bring me all the bills for the stone and labor and I will pay them, and in addition thereto I will also pay you the sum you expected to make." He had lifted a great load from the man's heart, and this unique transaction was carried out to the letter. In explanation of his course, General Howe said that he could never have found a moment's rest in a house that had been the ruin of another man. Thus he went through life, doing good wherever he could, dealing justly with all men, and building a name and reputation that shall forever stand as a symbol of the highest worth.

REUBEN MILLER, JR.

Reuben Miller, jr., is one of the best loved and most honored old men of Pittsburgh, and the four score years that lie behind him have been filled with usefulness, and borne fruits of which this generation is a grateful partaker. In telling the story of his life one unrolls at the same time



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Leuben Miller Jr.

Eng'd by E. G. Williams & Bro. N.Y.

a panorama of this century's growth, and makes emphatic the changes that have been wrought in eighty years of steady development. In a manly and modest way he tells of the things he has seen in this long pilgrimage, saying little of his part therein, but giving the full meed of praise and award of credit to those who worked with him or about him. He was born near Frankford, Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, on June 24, 1805, the son of Reuben and Hannah Miller, who were natives of Chester county in the same state. In the fall of the year just named, the senior Miller, in the hope of bettering his condition in life, concluded to remove with his wife and their four children to Pittsburgh, then a frontier town of some thirty-five hundred inhabitants. He engaged the service of one of the old-fashioned Conestoga, six-horse wagons, that was principally loaded with sack salt, but afforded room for the family, their bedding and some furniture. The trip occupied over thirty days, and was attended with no little danger and much fatigue, no turnpike, canal or railroad being then even thought of. On reaching Pittsburgh the father engaged in the iron business, some of his experiences being related elsewhere in this article. The son Reuben was given such education as the schools of the day allowed, and at the age of thirteen, in 1818, was taken out of school and put to work, under no ten-hour system let it be remembered, but from five o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock at night. This continued until the spring of 1821, when times became hard and business dull. Stocks of nails, iron, and all kinds of iron tools, chains, etc., had accumulated, and the father decided on sending a load down the Ohio river to be disposed of. A flatboat, or a "broad-horn" as they were called, was loaded with all kinds of iron goods, glass, cheese, etc. Reuben, jr., was made mate, deck-hand and cook, while his uncle and father's partner, O. Wilson, was supercargo and pilot. They started in February, during some very cold weather. On the first night they laid up at Fawcett town, now East Liverpool. When below Wheeling they began to stop at the various settlements along the river, and opened trade. Goods were sold for cash or exchanged for bacon, hemp, tobacco and other articles of native production, which were shipped back home. By the time they reached Cincinnati their stock was well reduced. They remained there for several days and then proceeded to Louisville, Kentucky, and tied their boat up in the mouth of Bear Grass creek, a stream now filled up and built over, and of which this generation has no personal knowledge. They had met with no accident, and their voyage had now lasted two

months. In a few days they arranged with the hardware firm of Overstreet & Blair to dispose of the remnants of their stock, sold their boat, and turned their faces homeward. At that time but very few steamboats were running on the river. Captain Jacob Beckwith, in command of the steamer *Velocipede*, was nearly ready for his second trip to Pittsburgh. Passage was engaged at thirty-five dollars each. The trip was a pleasant one, although at times the captain found difficulty in getting wood, even stopping to strip fences of their rails, and on one occasion to demolish a vacant log cabin. A few hours over seven days was the time required in the trip from Louisville to Pittsburgh, and that was considered good time.

Young Miller was kept at work with due steadiness until 1824, when his father's friends, Allen & Grant, who had started William Chestnut in a business that had not been carried on to their satisfaction, made application for the young man's services, offering him a partnership, and they to furnish all the capital. He was then not yet nineteen years of age, and the proposition was a high compliment to his worth and integrity at that early age. The father's consent being obtained, he took charge of the concern on June 7, 1824, and raised his sign of R. Miller, jr., & Company. It was a produce, grocery and provision business, and was located on Liberty street, on a portion of the ground now occupied by the Seventh Avenue hotel. The first year gave him plenty of work, and his share of the profits in that time was less than one hundred dollars, a rather poor recompense for the labor, heart and energy he had put forth. But he was young and ambitious, and when his partners suggested that they should try it again he agreed and went to work once more with a will. He extended his operations into Blair, Huntington and Centre counties, dealing in iron and blooms and furnishing provisions, groceries and many other kinds of goods to the furnaces, forges and wagoners, many of whom bought their own loads. The second year's settlement made a better showing, and Mr. Miller decided to branch out into a still wider field. As manufactured tobacco was a staple article of trade, he started in company with W. C. Robinson the making of that article, and it proved a good investment. As everything looked bright and promising at that stage of life he concluded to take a life-partner, his chosen companion being Ann L., the youngest daughter of Peter and Sarah Harvey. This was a further stimulus to the young man, who was not only anxious to get along in the world, but to provide a comfortable home. He was prospered in a moderate way. In 1833, in company with his brother-in-law Joseph Long, he

purchased property from the county, located on the corner of Liberty and Tenth streets, and in 1835 they built three good and substantial four-story brick buildings thereon, being a part of the block known as Commercial row. In the spring of 1836 the business relations with his partners, Allen & Grant, were mutually dissolved, Mr. Miller purchasing the entire business and continuing the same. In April of that year he removed to the corner of Liberty and Tenth streets, then far out of the business centre of the place, and soon, in company with William C. Robinson and Benjamin Minnis, started a foundry on the south side of the Monongahela river. They made a specialty of stoves, grates, and castings for heavy machinery. In the same year the firm purchased an interest in a blast furnace near Morgantown, Virginia. At this time the tide of westward emigration was at full force, and there was a rapid increase in the demand for transportation facilities, and a great many steamboats were built. Mr. Miller and his associates added to their foundry a machine shop for the manufacturing of steam engines and other machinery, and also became largely interested in boat property, owning shares in many that navigated the Ohio, Mississippi, and their tributary streams. In 1837 in company with Kingsland, Lightner & Co., and McClurg, Wade & Co., they purchased mineral, wood and farming lands in Armstrong county, Pennsylvania, and, with James M. Biddle as manager, built a blast furnace on Piney creek, in Madison, being probably the first one erected in that county. That enterprise was not a success, and in 1841 the property was all sold to Lyon, Shorb & Co., causing a serious loss on the investment. In 1839 the firm of which Mr. Miller was a part, having been encouraged by its success in the vessel business, determined to make the experiment of introducing iron in the construction of boats. The result was the *Valley Forge*, which was the first and only iron boat that ever navigated the western rivers. She started on her first journey in the fall of that year, making New Orleans her objective point. She had a reasonable capacity for carrying freight, and her accommodations for passengers were never excelled on the Ohio or Mississippi. She ran in various lines of trade, touching Nashville, St. Louis and New Orleans. But the improvements in boat-building were so great, furnishing greater carrying capacity with little or no more expense, that her owners decided to dismantle and break her up, which they did in 1845. Her splendid cabin was placed on another boat, the *Robert Morris*

while her hull iron went to Edward Stevens of Wheeling, and was worked up into nails.

By the beginning of 1840 the foundry and engine business had so largely increased, while the steamboat connections had grown to such dimensions, that Mr. Miller concluded to sever his other connections and give his time and personal service to these. The next fourteen years of his life were accordingly devoted to these great enterprises, to which he gave a great industry and rare skill of business management. In January, 1854, he retired from the concern, transferring his interest to his sons. During that year he took some needed rest, but he was not the kind of a man to remain long idle. In the spring of 1855 a charter was obtained for the Mechanics' Bank of Pittsburgh, which began business in July of that year. Mr. Miller was chosen as one of its original directors, and its first president. He gave it his entire time and attention for three years, when he was prostrated by sickness, brought on by overwork and his long and faithful devotion to business. His physician prescribed rest, and consequently he resigned his office of president and decided to travel. He left home in December of 1858 and did not return until the following May, visiting New Orleans, Cuba, South Carolina, Florida and other southern states. He came back with his health fully restored.

In this brief outline I have given the main labors of Mr. Miller's busy and useful life, but the above by no means includes them all. He has been interested in nearly all the public improvements of the city, devoting both service and means to their upbuilding or advancement. For seventeen years he served as a manager in the Monongahela Bridge company, and was its president for thirteen years, resigning, in 1878, because of severe indisposition. He was one of the original subscribers to the first savings bank in the city, known as the Pittsburgh Savings institution, one of its directors and its treasurer. It was first conducted as a private banking institution, but as it grew in business and strength its scope was widened. It finally obtained a charter, and now exists as the Farmer's Deposit National bank. Mr. Miller also served as a director in the Exchange bank, in the Savings and Trust company, now the First National bank, and in the Bank of Pittsburgh. He was a director in the Fireman's Insurance company. In the great fire of 1845 all but one of the local insurance companies—that being the Pittsburgh Navigation and Fire Insurance company—either lost their entire capital or found it so badly impaired that they wound up their business and ceased to exist. In 1849 a

charter was obtained for a new company called the Western, of which the stock was rapidly taken. Mr. Miller was chosen one of its first directors and made its first president. It commenced business in May of that year, its operations being very successful and its profits beyond expectation. In 1855 Mr. Miller resigned the presidency, although yet one of its directors, and but two of the present board having been there from the beginning. He was one of the original subscribers to the stock of the Monongahela Navigation company, and for many years served as one of its directors. He has filled the position of councilman both in Pittsburgh and Allegheny City. He was a manager in the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane at Dixmont, and for years was president of its executive committee. He has been a true friend to the cause of education, and has shown his devotion by his works. He was chosen as director of the Second ward school, and filled the position for twelve years. About 1853 the directors of the different ward schools began the agitation of the question of a high school, in which the youth of the city could have the advantages of a higher grade of education than was then afforded. Consequently two years later such school was put in operation, although seriously opposed by many of the large property holders. Each ward school selected one representative from its board to serve as a manager in the high school, and Mr. Miller was chosen from the Second ward, and continued as such until 1860. The struggle of the institution was a hard one, as it met the steady and determined opposition of many who were afraid their taxes would be increased, but it finally won the fight and proved the wisdom of its founders by the good it was enabled to do. Thanks to such faithful friends as Reuben Miller and his associates, it stands now in a flourishing condition, and has sent forth many young men and young women fully equipped for their battle in the world. Since his retirement from active business, in 1854, Mr. Miller has by no means remained an inactive looker-on in the procession of great events, but has kept his heart and hand interested in everything suggested for the public good. He has given liberally of his time and means to them all. Heaven has granted him the blessing of many children, and has touched him closely in the death of some. Five sons and two daughters were born to him. The latter both died in early childhood; one dearly beloved son was drowned, at the age of fifteen, in 1860; the next youngest, when just at the promise of a manhood of usefulness, gave his services to his country, and in the second day at Gettysburgh was given his death wound. It was

granted to the mourning parents that they could bring him to his home, and that his brave young life was breathed away in the spot he had so loved and from which he had gone so willingly to fight for the old flag. His record in the army was an honorable and noble one, and his memory is cherished by his aged father and mother as a precious thing. Two other of Mr. Miller's sons are married, and are engaged in active business, one in the Crescent Steel works and the other in the Pittsburgh Locomotive and Car works, while still another remains with his parents in their pleasant and comfortable home on Ridge avenue, in Allegheny City. The ease, comfort and other blessings of life that are bequeathed to Mr. Miller in his old age are the fruits of his own industry, ability and honesty, and he has deserved them four-fold. He is loved and looked up to as one of the pioneer fathers of the city in which he lives, and all men speak a good word concerning him. He has done many things for the good of others, and has seen the changes of many years; and it is given him and his estimable wife, both of whom have passed their four score years, to see the sun of life set in peace, and to feel that they have indeed been of use to the world.

ABRAHAM GARRISON.

As has been stated above, the first iron foundry in Pittsburgh, and probably the first west of the Alleghany mountains, was built in 1803 by Joseph McClurg, Joseph Smith and John Gormley, and was called the Pittsburgh foundry, and stood on the ground now occupied by the custom house and postoffice, corner of Fifth avenue and Smithfield street until 1852, when it was removed to its present location on the south side of the Monongahela river, embracing the square bounded by Ninth and Tenth streets, Bingham street and the river. On the shelves of its lofts are still to be seen patterns, which recall the infinite variety of its former business, and the early history of western Pennsylvania. In 1812 were cast in this foundry the cannon balls, which on the outbreak of the war with England were sent to New Orleans, and used by General Jackson on the memorable eighth of January, 1815, and many of our Pittsburgh readers will remember hearing from their parents of the time, when a dozen wagons were seen waiting at once in front of the old foundry for the projectiles to become cool enough to be shipped to Commodore Perry on Lake Erie. After peace was declared the molten metal was poured into ploughshares instead



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A Garrison

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of cannon balls, and water pipe, hollow ware, threshing machines, castings and stoves took the place of instruments of war.

In 1826 the first contract of water pipe for the city of Pittsburgh was made with Alex. McClurg & Co. of the Pittsburgh foundry, and Kingsland, Lightner & Co. of the Jackson and Eagle foundries. The first pipe was cast in 1827 and tested at a pond then to be seen between the cathedral and Smithfield street. The first chilled rolls made west of the mountains, the manufacture of which was destined to become the great specialty of the Pittsburgh foundry, was cast in 1825 at the Eagle foundry by Kingsland, Lightner & Co., who succeeded Alex. McClurg & Co. in 1830. As rolling-mills began to be built in western Pennsylvania, the Pittsburgh foundry was equipped to supply their machinery, and thus the entire field of ordnance and government work was left to its younger but enterprising sister, the Fort Pitt foundry, and the former has for many years manufactured almost exclusively rolls and roll trains.

The Pittsburgh foundry can boast of fewer changes of ownership during the eighty-two years of its existence than most establishments of its age in the United States. Shortly after its erection Joseph McClurg bought out his partners, Smith and Gormley, and with his son, Alexander McClurg, conducted the business successfully till 1814. From 1814 to 1822 the foundry was owned and operated by McClurg & McKnight, and then by Alex. McClurg & Company till 1830, when the establishment was purchased by Kingsland & Lightner, who were proprietors of the Jackson and Eagle foundries, the business of which was merged into that of the Pittsburgh foundry. From 1831 to 1836 the firm was known as Kingsland, Lightner & Cuddy. In 1836 the senior partner of the present firm, Abraham Garrison, obtained an interest in the business, and in 1840 Mr. Garrison, who was a nephew of Kingsland, and H. L. Bollman, a nephew of Lightner, succeeded their uncles, and associating with them H. F. Bollman carried on the business under the name of Bollmans & Garrison till 1851, when H. F. Bollman withdrew. From 1851 to 1863 the firm was Bollman & Garrison, and from 1863 to '65 Bollman, Garrison & Co. In 1864 Mr. Garrison bought Mr. Bollman's interest, and the present partnership of A. Garrison & Co. was formed January 1, 1865.

Through all the business vicissitudes of the present century the Pittsburgh foundry has borne a charmed financial life. Like a staunch old ship she has successfully breasted the storms of more than four score

years, and though in common with most of her cotemporaries, she felt the stress of weather in 1837, she rode safely through, and from 1803 to the present time she has enabled her owners not only to pay, as the old saying is, one hundred cents on the dollar, but to find each year a balance on the right side of the ledger. This is indeed a remarkable career, and a proud record for a foundry, which was not only the first in the Iron City, but which has kept pace with the times and is to-day one of the largest in the country. Abraham Garrison, the senior partner of the present firm, under whose management the Pittsburgh foundry has during the fifty-two years of his connection with it, won a national if not a world-wide reputation, is now in the eighty-second year of his age, but still vigorous in mind and body. Mr. Garrison was born in Orange county, New York, on the fourth of March, 1804. His ancestors on his father's side were of English descent, and settled in what is now Putnam county, New York, in 1686. The well known "Garrison's Landing," opposite West Point on the Hudson, was owned by the family for many generations, and the landing thus obtained its name. His great-grandfather, Beverly Garrison, first developed the famous Forest of Dean iron mine in New York state. Oliver Garrison, the father of Abraham, had property on the Hudson near West Point, and was the owner and captain of a sloop which sailed between Albany and New York. His mother was Catharine Kingsland, whose ancestors were English and among the early settlers of New Jersey. Mr. Garrison is the oldest of a family of five brothers, all of whom achieved marked success in life, three of whom, Oliver, Daniel R. and Isaac L., settled in St. Louis, and one, the late Commodore C. K. Garrison, in New York city. Mr. Garrison well remembers his father taking him in August, 1807, to the banks of the Hudson to see Fulton's first steamboat ascend the river. Though he was at the time only three years of age, the importance of the event and the commotion it created in the neighborhood so impressed it upon his mind that he never forgot it.

He was present at the opening of the first railroad from Albany to Schenectady in 1831, then called the Hudson & Mohawk road. In 1846, soon after congress appropriated twenty-five thousand dollars to enable the inventor Morse to construct his line of telegraph from Washington to Baltimore, Mr. Garrison was appointed with the late Thomas Bakewell and John Anderson, well-known citizens and manufacturers of Pittsburgh, to go to Washington on public business, and his name and those of his companions were among the first transmitted over the new telegraph line,

which was then looked upon as the eighth wonder of the world. From the age of fourteen Mr. Garrison assisted his father in the navigation of the *Hudson*, and long before his twenty-first birthday was captain of the sloop. On reaching his majority he went into the grocery business in New York city, but remained there only a year. In 1826 he came to Pittsburgh and entered into the office of Kingsland, Lightner & Co., then the proprietors of the Jackson and Eagle foundries, the senior partner of which firm was his maternal uncle. During the next three years he determined to learn the foundry business, and accordingly in 1829 he went into the employ of Howard Nott & Co., iron founders of Albany, New York. He was married in Albany on August 1, 1830, to Mary Clement, his present wife. In September, 1830, he returned to Pennsylvania, and took charge as foreman of the business of Kingsland, Lightner & Cuddy, who during his absence in Albany had purchased and were running the Pittsburgh foundry. In 1836 he and his late partner H. L. Bollman obtained an interest in the business. In January, 1840, Kingsland & Lightner, having built a foundry in St. Louis, went there to live and sold their interests in the Pittsburgh foundry to Bollman and Garrison. Mr. Garrison has kept a record of the price of pig-iron in the Pittsburgh market since 1826, and for fifty years has bought the metal used at the foundry.

From 1840 to 1860 he gave the practical part of the business the closest attention, and while other firms west and east became discouraged in the attempt, Mr. Garrison succeeded in establishing the chill roll industry on a firm footing in this country. On these rolls all fine metals are finished, and the Pittsburgh foundry to-day furnishes rolls, varying in weight from a hundred pounds to eighteen tons, for iron, steel, brass, copper, zinc, lead, gold, silver, paper, strawboard and India rubber work to upwards of three hundred and fifty mills in the United States, from Eastport, Maine, to San Francisco, and from Montreal to New Orleans. Rolls have also been sent at various times to England, France, Belgium, Russia and Mexico. In 1842 Mr. Garrison first began to furnish the sheet brass rolls of the Naugatuck valley, in Connecticut, with chilled rolls. They had prior to that time been imported from England, and it is now forty-three years since the English chilled rolls makers were thus driven from the American market.

During the last twenty-five years Mr. Garrison has left the details of the business to his younger partners, though exercising a general supervision over its management, and has devoted himself principally to the various

offices of trust he has been called upon to fill. He is president of the Diamond National bank, the Safe Deposit company of Pittsburgh and the Birmingham Bridge company, and a director in several other institutions. His judgment in financial matters is unerring, and his advice on questions of investment is constantly asked by those who have access to him. He is a marked representative of the class of careful, cautious business men who lay the foundation of their fortunes broad and deep, who never make haste to grow rich, and who have little patience with so-called brilliant financiers, who from time to time suddenly appear like comets in the commercial horizon, only to vanish as swiftly as they come.

Mr. Garrison has made a success of every enterprise of which he has assumed the management, and any community may well esteem itself fortunate to possess among its business votaries men who are governed by the policy of liberal conservatism which has been the rule of Mr. Garrison's life. For nearly sixty years he has been a trusted and honored citizen of Pittsburgh, and his name has always been the synonym for strict integrity and fair dealing with his fellow-men. He has been a generous though unostentatious giver to the various charities of Allegheny county and to St. Andrew's Episcopal church, of which he was an original projector. The weight of eighty-one years of active business life still rests lightly upon him, and we trust it will be long before the good people of Pittsburgh miss from their streets the familiar form of their venerable and highly respected citizen, Abraham Garrison.

B. F. JONES.

Mr. B. F. Jones, who has recently been elected to the honorable and responsible position of president of the American Iron and Steel association, and who was brought into national prominence, in 1884, by his strong and able conduct of the presidential campaign, has long been recognized as one of the great iron men of the country, and counted as one of those who have built a giant industry in the face of many opposing forces and unfavorable circumstances. The success that has crowned his career has been due to no sudden favor from fortune, or no bestowal of good gifts from others, but has been wrought out by the strength of his brain, the industry of his hands, and the steady clearness of his vision. It is a pleasure to look over his career and see what this combination of



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B. H. Jones

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mind and character has done for him in the forty odd years during which he has been in the harness of business life. He was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, on August 8, 1826, and when eleven years of age removed to New Brighton, Beaver county, where he was given a good academic education (which was more than the majority of boys received in those days) in the New Brighton academy. In 1843, when only seventeen years of age, he set out to commence the business of life on his own account. He made the start in Pittsburgh, accepting the position of receiving clerk with the Mechanics' line of boats that ran over the canal between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. The great problem of transportation that was then being slowly worked out has been fully discussed in these pages in connection with the life of another eminent Pittsburgh gentleman, yet the subject is so full of interest that one leaves it with reluctance. The patient labor and unhesitating risk of capital that the great Keystone state gave to the building of her canals and their connecting links of pioneer railroads, found ready appreciation among the live and active business men of the day, and the best returns that could be had from these slow water-ways were worked out and mastered. Mr. Jones was one of the foremost in his day, and a recent number of the *Iron Age*, speaking of his work says:

Before he was twenty-one years of age Mr. Kier, who was one of the proprietors of the Mechanics' line, had established an independent line of section boats, so constructed as to be adapted to both rail and canal, and Mr. Jones, though so young, had risen in three years from the position of shipping-clerk, at no salary, to manager of both lines of boats, at a salary that at that time was almost unprecedented.

The owners of this line were Samuel M. Kier of Pittsburgh, Henry L. Patterson of Hollidaysburgh, and Messrs. Koons, Williams and Stees of Philadelphia. There were some able young men engaged in the forwarding business at that time, among them being the late Thomas A. Scott, the great railroad king. They soon evolved such order and method in the business that, on the advent of competing railroads, it was an open question for some time whether they would drive the canals from the field or meet them in close competition. One reason why the railroads were able to make so good a showing in the start lay in the fact that the canals had already trained a great army of forwarders and managers, who soon gave to the iron lines the experience and skill they had gained on the water line.

In 1857 Mr. Jones became a partner with Mr. Kier, and under the firm name of Kier & Jones they ran the Independent line of section boats be-

tween Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and also carried on the commission and forwarding business until 1854, when the Pennsylvania railroad superseded the old system of state canals and railroads. It was during these days that Mr. Jones took another important step in life, and on May 20, 1850, was happily wedded to Miss Mary McMasters, daughter of John McMasters, sr., one of Allegheny county's most respected citizens.

Mr. Jones' connection with the great industry to which he has given the greater portion of his life began in a small way in 1847, while he was still a manager of the above named lines. In company with Mr. Kier he purchased a furnace and forges in the Alleghany mountains, near Armaugh, Westmoreland county. In 1852 Mr. Jones extended his operations in the iron line, and in connection with Bernard Lauth established the American Iron works in Pittsburgh, the name of the firm being Jones, Lauth & Co. In 1853 they purchased the Monongahela Iron works at Brownsville. They ran these for a year and then dismantled them, bringing a part of the machinery to the American works at Pittsburgh. In 1854 Mr. James Laughlin became a member of the firm, Mr. Lauth retiring, and its name was changed to Jones & Laughlin, and as Jones & Laughlin it exists at the present day, the junior partner's place, since his death, having been occupied by his sons. The works and business connections were enlarged from time to time as opportunity allowed, until the result is the largest establishment in Pittsburgh and one of the largest in the country and in the world. They purchased the Falcon furnace at Youngstown, Ohio, in 1857, and ran it in connection with their mill. They were among the first to make use of Lake Superior iron ore. In 1861 they erected two blast furnaces in Pittsburgh. Their iron works are situated in the Twenty-fourth ward of Pittsburgh and their furnaces in the Twenty-first ward, and one should pay a visit to these mammoth establishments in order to gain an idea of what they are and of the immense amount of material they handle. Their coal works are in the rear of the mills, in Lower St. Clair township, adjoining the city limits, and are connected with a tram-road, the mines and road all being the property of the company. They use up many of their own products, making merchant iron, boiler iron, nails, sheet iron, bolts, rivets, rails, etc. They are now entering on the making of steel, erecting two seven-ton converter Bessemer plants complete, and also one ten-ton Siemens-Martin plant, which are expected to be in working order by the close of the year. They were among the first, if not the first, to buy coal lands and make

coke in the Connellsville region, and at their Tyrone coke works they manufacture enough to supply their furnaces. Their cold-rolled iron is one of the great features in the iron world, and finds a market in all quarters of the globe. Their business connections are found not only in every state of the Union, but in the old world as well. Concerning the extent of their business, the article in the *Iron Age*, from which the above quotation is made, adds the following:

The two Eliza furnaces, on the opposite side of the Monongahela from the rolling-mill, are part of the plant, which also includes coke works in the Connellsville region and in Pittsburgh, iron-ore beds in western Pennsylvania and Lake Superior, coal works near the rolling-mills and limestone quarries for the supply of their furnaces. In a word, from the mines to the rolls the raw material used is chiefly from their own mines and works. At the rolling-mills they have established many branches of business to provide for the consumption of their own product. Their cold-rolled iron, especially shafting, is known through the whole world. Their machine shops and foundries are among the best appointed in the west. In connection with their business, they also at an early date, 1856, established a large warehouse in Chicago, and the firm of Jones & Laughlins as jobbers of heavy iron and hardware are among the most extensive and best known in the northwest. Some two or three years since the firm Jones & Laughlins became a limited partnership under the title of Jones & Laughlins, Limited, of which Mr. Jones is chairman and Mr. Geo. M. Laughlin secretary and treasurer. In all of these enterprises some four thousand people are given employment, and there are no works in the country that run with greater regularity.

Mr. B. F. Jones has given the greater part of his time and genius to the company of which he is the head, and that he has the qualities by which success is commanded is well shown in the high repute in which he has for years been held by iron men the country over, and by his standing in the city where so many years of his life have been passed. In business and in private life an unswerving line of honesty and fair dealing has marked his course; his competitors have only commendation for his business methods, and he has always held the confidence and respect of his vast army of employes. His judgment is of the soundest, and any public enterprise that can gain the aid of his name and influence feels that it has been placed on the road to success. He has felt that anything that tended to the building up of Pittsburgh was worthy of regard, and accordingly has been connected with most of the roads touching the city, and has proved their loyal friend whenever opportunity offered. He has been in the directories of many of them and with those of several of the most prominent banks. He has had a large share in the river interests, and in many general enterprises of a commercial character. I shall not attempt the enumeration in detail, as the list would run on through half the commercial directory of Pittsburgh. He has been equally active in charitable and philanthropic work. During the war he was a member of the Pittsburgh subsistence committee, and much

of its great success was due to his energy and earnest work. He has been an official member of a great many of the Pittsburgh benevolent organizations, and any worthy cause finds in him a warm and open-handed friend. His private life, like that he has lived in public, has been without a blemish, and there is no one in the city of his home who has the heart or reason to bespeak him ill. He is still actively engaged in many of the works above mentioned, and is making a noble use of the means that have fallen to his hands.

The political life of Mr. Jones has been incidental, and was accepted by him because his regard for the public good was such that he could not refuse any duty imposed upon him. He is and has always been a protectionist, not because he is an iron man, but from the belief that in that policy the good of the country could best be guaranteed. "His belief," says one who knows him well, "is that the whole country and all classes are benefited by protective tariffs, the lawyer and doctor equally with the manufacturer, the farmer as well as the laborer. He has no sympathy with those so-called protectionists who desire protection for their products and low duties or free trade for their raw materials, and has always advocated and defended the interests and safety of the weakest as well as those industries that have grown strong." He has shown his faith in his works, and has been an active advocate of such measures as best set forth and make effective the principles above advanced. He has been to Washington many times as a representative of Pittsburgh, in committees sent for the advocacy of tariff legislation, and has been an acknowledged power in that direction. He was elected in December last to the presidency of the American Iron and Steel association, and in that high position will find opportunity to still further aid the country by aiding the great interests which form so large a part of her industry. In a purely political sense Mr. Jones has done little, although always one of the powerful influences in shaping the policy of the Republican party and in upholding its name. He has had an abundance of opportunity for the holding of public office, but has steadily refused them all. In 1884 he found himself so situated that he was compelled to represent Pennsylvania in the National Republican committee, and when the chairmanship of that committee was conferred upon him, he did not feel that he had a right to shrink from the great responsibility when so much was at stake. His energy, good management and personal strength of character were ably shown in the conduct of that campaign, and that the victory was not secured was

through do fault or lack of purpose or labor on his part. As illustrative of Mr. Jones' pure life and high record, his friends mention with some amusement that after his elevation to the chairmanship, the eastern opposition newspapers sent correspondents to Pittsburgh to discover what might be said against him. They searched his record from childhood up with microscopic investigation and sleuth-hound tenacity, but as nothing was printed as a result of their inquisition, the supposition is that they could find nothing to make available to their use.

SEELYE A. WILLSON.

THE CITY OF THE STRAITS.

I.

It is impossible for two persons to form the same conception of an event that both have not witnessed, from reading or hearing the same description of it. Describe an occurrence, historical or otherwise, to an audience of a dozen individuals, and a dozen different ideas will be formed of the topography and local coloring of the scene. To the mind of one the narrative will suggest bright skies, abundant foliage, pellucid waters, and unbroken, velvet sward. To another the occurring picture will be sombre, distinguished by lowering clouds, a rayless sun, uneven ground, forbidding marshes, irritable brambles, and the absence of all pleasure-lending details. Trace the phantom picture in the minds of all the listeners, and the variations of the mental photographs will be found limited only by the number of minds that have received the impression. A dozen persons may witness the same exciting incident, but how varied will be their vocal or written descriptions of it—how different their ideas of the salient points of the affair; how ludicrous, even, the chronological variations in their substantially agreeing narratives. No one of them can tell the story so that the incident will appear to others as it did to those who saw it with their own eyes. Nothing short of the process of instantaneous photography and absolutely accurate stenography applied to the local surroundings of historical events, and the utterances of those who participated therein, could remove the element of doubt and the province of fiction from much that is handed down as history. But in the multiplication of sketches lies the safety of the truth. What one has not

remembered, or seen, or resolved by logical conclusions from data that form no part of the occurrences themselves, the others may. History, also, is unending. No pen or press can keep up with the march of events. Before the last written chapter of the most recent work can be printed, another is needed to bring the record down to date. Successive writers, fresh perhaps from other fields of thought and labor, see a new significance in what has already been oft recited, and can add some touches to the historical picture as a whole to make it even more instructive or complete. Especially may this be the case if observation and preparation have been trained upon certain particulars or conclusions that appear to be lacking in the general treatment of the subject. These suggestions are offered, not as an assumption of more or better knowledge—which would be absurd—or even as a promise of comprehensive review, but rather as a justification for attempting to say anything upon a subject which has claimed the attention and talents of some of the most thoughtful and observing chroniclers and commentators of the country, who have enjoyed every facility for its exhaustive treatment, and whose works stand as an enduring monument of patience and skill. In reproducing through this medium the impressions created of the rise and progress of the "Beautiful City of the Straits," and her life and importance as they now appear, no attempt will be made to trace the whole pathway to her present greatness through all the windings and meanderings of two hundred years. The essay to outline, as if to one who had never heard the story, will be—

"Not through each devious path, each changeful year of existence;
But as a traveler follows a streamlet's course through the valley:
Far from its margin at times, and seeing the gleam of its water
Here and there, in some open space, and at intervals only."

THE SELECTION OF THE SITE.

That in the march of empire westward some point on the Detroit river should early have been designated for a settlement that in time was destined to become a great city, was only natural; but it is interesting to note that the influences which prevailed in making the choice of position, and in retaining it for a full century before the settlement acquired any importance in population or improvements, were strangely different from those that in this age of invention and progress confirm the choice as the best that could be made between Lake Erie and Lake Huron, in the light of present knowledge. Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac builded even better than he knew, when, in 1701, he selected the present site of the city of

Detroit for his colony in preference to any other point on the line of water communication that then extended nearly one thousand miles westward and northward beyond the frontier of the feeble civilization that had acquired foothold in the regions tributary to the St. Lawrence and Hudson rivers. No thought of steamboats or railroads entered his mind, nor any idea that the little trading post he founded would ever be more than a good sized town; but had he all the present resources of civilization in view, he could not have chosen more wisely than he did. From his point of observation, it was desirable to locate within easy reach of Lake Erie navigation, for obvious reasons, and at some point on the main land where the banks were high, so that easy access to the deep channel of the river, and unimpaired communication with the country in the rear should both be afforded. Had the selection not been made until transportation was revolutionized by steam, Cadillac, or a commission of congress, or any other agency that might have been charged with the duty, would have chosen Grosse Isle, with its double water front of fifteen miles in length, its high banks, its elevated area of nearly sixteen square miles, and its magnificent harbor facilities and protection, as the location of the future commercial metropolis of Michigan. But Cadillac rejected Grosse Isle because it was cut off from the mainland by a broad, deep water way, threatening a scarcity of fire-wood in the near future if the colony amounted to anything; because it might prove too small for the agricultural needs of the people he hoped to induce to attach their fortunes to his own, and because he could have no conception of an iron bridge two thousand feet long, or ferry boats propelled against both wind and current. The present location was the nearest point above the mouth of the river that corresponded to the only idea it was possible in his day for an intelligent man to form of the necessities of the case, and there he planted the banner of his royal master, Louis XIV of France, and fortunately, as it now appears, the settlement had vitality enough to withstand the changed circumstances that in later years conspired to overrule Cadillac's decision. Detroit was one hundred and fifty years old before the most sanguine believer in her destiny would have been seized with a doubt as to the capacity of Grosse Isle to accommodate all the people and business it would ever be the fortune of the city to contain. But the marvelous growth of the city in the past twenty years, overleaping the boundaries the wildest imagination of a generation ago had placed upon her expansion; the recent experiments resulting in the abandonment of the Canada

Southern Railway line *via* Grosse Isle, owing largely to natural and insurmountable difficulties; the conviction that for present and future necessities of through transportation by rail, which has largely superseded freighting by water, a crossing at Detroit as now located, is absolutely required, and would be established there if a new city had to be created to maintain it; and the enormous extra expense and inconvenience of keeping up a great city such as Detroit now is, with a broad, swift stream flowing through its centre, as would be the case if Grosse Isle had been selected and the growth of the city had been as rapid and sustained as we have witnessed—all point to the conclusion that the people of Detroit, Michigan, the northwest, and the whole country, in fact, have reason to congratulate themselves that Cadillac, in laying the foundation of the City of the Straits, conjectured as little as he did of the ratio and manifestations of progress in the two hundred years following his initial step, seeing that he could not know it all. The only qualification of this sentiment that seems to be necessary may be contained in the suggestion that if Cadillac had selected Grosse Isle instead of the present location, the city might not have grown fast enough to be crowded in its island quarters. How very little Cadillac or his immediate successors in the government of Detroit did imagine of the greatness that would be hers in time is shown by a letter, written as late as 1725, to the home government, in which the theory was advanced that the colony and the territory by which it was surrounded could never amount to much, because it was cut off from access to the settlements in the east and ocean navigation by the falls of Niagara, and because "not one acre in one hundred, if there be one in a thousand," of all the land in the peninsula, was fit for cultivation.

THE ANCIENT OF WESTERN CITIES.

That Detroit was settled a very long time ago—as compared with other western cities—is known to all who have formed acquaintance with her history. But how long ago that time really was cannot be realized by the bare statement that Cadillac's colony was established in 1701, and that consequently the city is 184 years old. It needs something more than this—a comparison of dates with those of other conspicuous events in the records of our own and other countries—to give a true idea of the venerableness of the City of the Straits. The Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620. New York city was located in 1623, and the New England states between these dates and 1636. But Detroit was one thousand miles inland and, in the ordinary course of colonial development would not have

been settled before the beginning of the nineteenth century. The principal element of the extraordinary which enabled her to antedate by a full century the progress of empire westward is the fact that she stands at the gateway of navigation to the great northwest, and that the whole lake system is narrowed down to her situation as if to impart velocity to the current of her career. Taking some of the largest and oldest inland cities for comparison, it will be found that Detroit was fifty-three years old when George Washington began his fort at Pittsburgh, hundreds of miles in advance of civilization; she was eighty-six years old when the first house was built at Syracuse; she was eighty-eight years old when General St. Clair surveyed Cincinnati; she had reached the mature age of ninety-five years when General Moses Cleaveland laid out Ohio's beautiful city on Lake Erie that bears his name; she celebrated her centenary in the year that the Holland Land company platted the city at the mouth of Buffalo creek; she was one hundred and nine years old when Rochester was founded; John Pogue was just one hundred and eighteen years behind her time when he erected a log cabin on the site of Indianapolis; Milwaukee was laid out one hundred and thirty-four years later than the City of the Straits; and Detroit had been making history for one hundred and twenty-nine years when the Illinois board of land commissioners surveyed the site of the great metropolis of the west. William Penn located his grant from the English king only nineteen years earlier than did Cadillac the grant of the French king, and New York city had only been in permanent possession of the English for twenty-seven years at that time. But it is by reference to events in the history of Europe that the great age of Detroit is made to stand out clearest and strongest, for Americans naturally look upon European history as more ancient than their own. Detroit was two years old when Peter the Great founded St. Petersburg, seventy-one years old when Poland was first dismembered, eighty-eight when the Bastille was destroyed by the population of Paris, and ninety-one when Napoleon first came into public notice as an artillery officer at the siege of Toulon. Frederick the Great was crowned, George I was king of England, Charles VI emperor of Germany, and Louis XIV king of France in the year that Cadillac planted the Bourbon lilies on the banks of the Detroit river.

RACIAL INFLUENCES IN DEVELOPMENT.

The merest tyro in history knows, in a general way, at least, the parts taken by the English, the French and the Indians in the early warfares and development of the country. But the influences of these widely

differing races of men were not felt alike in all parts of the country. The Atlantic coast states received none of their impulse from the French. When the English obtained possession of the Ohio valley, the French were expelled bodily. There were, in fact, only a very few points in the north and west where the French remained to take any influential part in the direction of affairs after the surrender of Canada and Michigan to the English, in 1760. Detroit was one of these points. The white population was all French when Colonel Bellestre formally turned over the post to Major Robert Rogers, in November of that year, and their descendants are prominent in the business, politics and society of the city to this day. The names of the owners of a considerable portion of the real estate of the city are the same as those which appeared in the grants issued by Cadillac and his immediate successors. No other city in the northern states has been so much affected by the French element as Detroit. For sixty years the French was the only European language spoken within her limits, and there are to-day people within sight of her city hall who cannot converse in any other. It is doubtful if the English could have maintained a colony so remote from the Atlantic during the first fifty years of the history of the city. The suave, politic, and mercurial French were just the people to win the confidence and affection of the Indians, and the hold thus obtained upon the aborigines was strengthened by frequent intermarriages. Many of the voyageurs, trappers and traders who came up from Montreal every year to spend a few months with their Pottawatomic, Wyandot or Ojibway wives on the Detroit, had, it is true, French wives at the other end of the route, but the Indians did not know that, and would not have thought it much of a scandal if they had. The French understood the Indian character and traded extensively on their knowledge. It was not the fault of the aborigines that the French did not obtain control of the whole country. The Indians never could endure the blunt and forceful characteristics of the English, and the English either could not or would not understand the Indians. The only notable exception to this rule was in the case of Sir William Johnson, who by superior qualities of mind and sheer force of character controlled the Five Nations and held them to British allegiance after every other tribe worthy of the name had become allies of France. It was not until after France surrendered her American possessions that the Indians succumbed to the influence of British gold—or its equivalent in merchandise.

The Jesuit missionaries and capable commanders sent out from France

learned the utter incorrigibleness of the Indian character three-quarters of a century before it was appreciated by the English, and took it for just what it was worth. They saw, or at least acted as if they saw, that the treachery and tigerish ferocity and untameableness of the Indian disposition were incurable, and could only be overcome by working upon his pride and cupidity. It has taken the English and their posterity nearly two hundred years longer to learn that vice and an improved method of killing was all the Indian was able to assimilate of civilization. No other people ever lived so long in the presence of civilization and learned so little of it. The Indian has none of the virtues of the negro, and none of the imitableness of the Chinaman. Even King Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumseh, the noblest of the race, were revengeful, treacherous and brutal, and the few specimens of aboriginal adaptation to the manners and ethics of civilization only lack an opportunity to relapse into the natural wildness and ferocity of the race. The French understood this, by reason of their more subtle instincts. The English did not, and aggravated the difficulty the situation presented by gross injustice. Even the American people, over one hundred years after England's accountability in the premises came to an end, are slow to realize that centuries of preparation—of labor and self-dependence—are necessary to make a savage race receptive and retentive of civilization; and to teach a savage the ways of civilization and then turn him loose to shift for himself is as cruel as the transplantation of an Eskimo to an equatorial region.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF TRANSPORTATION.

In this age of railroads, steamboats, well-graded and in most cases well-paved highways between the principal cities, and a drainage system that has reclaimed millions of acres of malaria-breeding swamps and morasses on the shores of western lakes and rivers, it is almost impossible to estimate the difficulties encountered in the marchings and countermarchings, the attacks and retreats, the movements aggressive and defensive that were connected with the history of Detroit during the first one hundred years of her existence. A reading of all the histories and narratives bearing upon the trials and triumphs of her pioneers, and of the little armies that marched to her attack or succor under the French, English, or American colors, gives but a faint idea of the almost impassable obstacles they had to encounter, or the privations they must have endured. An army of five thousand men, with cannon, horses, and munitions of war in suitable pro-

portion, could now be moved from the Niagara frontier, Virginia, southern Ohio, or Kentucky in twenty-four hours, if necessary, to any point on the Detroit river. But the dispatch of an armed force over substantially the same ground fifty or one hundred years ago, was a work of almost appalling difficulty that none except the most resolute and confident spirits would attempt. Then, as now, there were two principal land routes from the earlier settled states to Michigan—the one from the Niagara river through Canada, and the other by way of the south and west shores of Lake Erie. In a sense, each one of these routes was more difficult than the other. The Canadian route was naturally the first chosen by the French, and adopted by the English in their campaigns after the cession of the provinces. The French did not have occasion to use the land route very often, their communication being usually by means of batteaux that skirted the north shore of Lake Erie, but they were several times driven by the exigencies of the season or the weight of armament and baggage to make the journey on foot, making a roadway as they went, through forests and swamps that would in these days discourage a hunter encumbered only with the lightest equipment. Summer or winter, the route was equally forbidding, except by chance a drought of exceptional length or frost of unusual severity and continuance occurred just previous to an expedition. When it is remembered that through these forests and bogs, and across a rapid succession of streams that all, with the exception of the Thames for a short distance, ran at right angles to the line of march, cannon and heavy wagons were transported and regiments of heavily armed troops were marched where never a sod or stone had been turned to smooth the way, some idea of the difficulty may be conjectured.

But to the American, more proud of American than French or English achievement, there is more of interest connected with the movements along the line of the west and south shore route from Detroit to the Ohio river. At no time previous to the final capture of Detroit was there anything more than a broken trail on the land route between the Ohio and the Detroit rivers. An expedition to Detroit involved difficulties compared with which those of the northern route referred to were trifles in some respects. The rivers to be crossed were more numerous and larger; the surface was seldom hardened enough for easy travel by either frost or sun; and every foot of the way was beset by vigilant, cruel foes. Here, too, the rivers all ran the wrong way for transportation purposes. Whoever has lived

or hunted or engaged in lumbering pursuits for any length of time along the line of the Lake Shore road between Sandusky and Detroit, one season with another, can form something like an idea of the obstacles attending pedestrianism and transportation through the wilderness in the early days. When the mighty forests were standing, there was rarely frost beneath the snow, and no sun was ever hot enough to evaporate the moisture underneath the cushion of moss and leaves. Even as late as ten or fifteen years ago, it was possible to experience a good deal of what the pioneers had to undergo along that route who set out from Virginia and Kentucky to wrest the Detroit colony from the hands of the French or English—aside from the perils attending such movements. In order to make any headway whatever, it was necessary to follow the oak ridges through the lowlands, meander streams for fording places, fell trees to "corduroy" marshes that could not be avoided and bridge the sluggish rivers that could not be forded.

Up to the time of the occupation of Detroit by the English there were no craft on the lake of sufficient size to transport any considerable force, and during the campaigns of the Americans designed to wrest the town from the English, during the revolutionary war, the lake was so completely controlled by the English that the Americans had no recourse to other than the land route. The histories do not particularize, but they incidentally reveal the incalculable trials that attended campaigning in this section against whoever held the town. It is a matter of record, for illustration, that Sir William Johnson was thirty-nine full days making the route through Canada from the Niagara river to Detroit, in 1761, with a small and lightly equipped force. This was on the occasion of the surrender of the provinces to the English, and the time of making the journey, from July 25 to September 3, the most favorable that could be chosen. Even at that time of the year they must have found the low, swampy lands of the western peninsula, of what is now the province of Ontario, almost impassable. On almost exactly the same route they must have followed, and which they were nearly six weeks in covering, the trip can now be made in six hours by rail. There are few more striking illustrations of nineteenth century progress in the new world.

Fifty-one years later, an army of two thousand men was gathered together at Dayton, Ohio, under command of General Hull, for the relief of Detroit, then threatened by the British, and the intimidation of the Indians, who menaced, in fact controlled, the line of march along the

head of Lake Erie. About the twelfth of June, 1812, they left Dayton, with what in those days was considered a heavy provision and ammunition train. It was nearly two weeks before they reached the rapids of the Maumee river, near the present site of Perrysburg, and although they had covered two-thirds of the distance, their troubles had only begun. With the aid of a small schooner, the *Cuyahoga*, they crossed the Maumee with comparative ease and attacked the unbroken wilderness of forest and swamps that lay beyond. The season of the year was favorable—if any season could be favorable in a country that hardly gave a foothold for loaded teams at any season—but it was two weeks later, July 13, before they came in sight of Detroit. The rate of progress was only about four miles a day on an average, but the obstacles they encountered and overcame afford a ready explanation of the delay when fully considered. Roads had to be cut through virgin forests that would average one hundred cords of wood to the acre; miles of causeway, or “corduroy,” had to be laid across marshes; bridges had to be built across the Huron, Ecorse and Rouge rivers—the Raisin being fordable near its mouth; lesser bridges had to be erected across the small streams, and wide detours were necessary to avoid bayous and swamps that could not be crossed with the means at their command. The evidences of this primitive and hurried engineering work are frequently revealed by the more perfect improvements of the present times. In draining, dredging, and railway construction, sections of this, the first turnpike in the state of Michigan, are often brought to the surface. A new growth of timber has obliterated this highway where it followed the hard wood ridges, but the ash, elm, sycamore, and other soft woods felled to fill up the bogs and approaches to the streams, can easily be found to-day a few feet below the surface by those familiar with the route—almost as sound at heart as when they fell before the axes of Hull’s hardy pioneers. And what a road it was when finished? A horseman of the present day would shrink in terror from its contemplation! But it served to convey the stores and ammunition that perforce must go on wheels, while the men who made up the expedition scorned roads of any kind for their personal convenience.

A month in going from Dayton to Detroit! Two weeks from the Maumee to the Rouge! Knowing this, and remembering the character and physique of the men who composed Hull’s army, it is easy to imagine what remains untold. And how humiliating to the American heart to



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think that all this toil and patience and courage and high endeavor were sacrificed in a base surrender within a month after success had crowned the gallant effort!

HENRY A. GRIFFIN.

PITTSBURGH.

V.

WILLIAM THAW.

While iron and steel are among the chief lines by which Pittsburgh joins herself to the outside world, there are many other great interests of which she is the fountain or in which she has a part. As a point of distribution to the west and the south the city has made for herself a history, and the canals of the older days and the railroads of to-day have proved themselves mighty arms by which she has reached out, and with which wonderful things have been accomplished. While no attempt is made herein to give even an outline of the history of Pittsburgh as a shipping and forwarding point, some things of interest thereon have been noted and briefly set down.

When the history of the growth of transportation in America comes to be written, the theory of evolution as applied to one great line of commerce will be proved beyond all cavil. And that history, if put on record with reference to the philosophy underlying it, will be of absorbing interest. No chapter in it can contain more in illustration of man's venturesome energy than that relating to the passage of the Alleghany mountains and the connection of the great mart of Philadelphia with Pittsburgh, the early point of distribution for the west and the southwest. When the pioneer adventurers during the last century sought out paths over these mountains, they did a daring thing. When the heavy wagons cut their way through the woods and bridged the mountain torrents, they added toil and patience to that daring. When the canals were dug to the foot of the range on each side, and the portage created between the termini of the waterways, people said that science and skill had exhausted their resources and that man must be content with what he had. Some of these

definite prophets have ridden many times across these mountains and over these chasms in the palace cars of the Pennsylvania railroad, and looked anxiously at their watches and grumbled lest a minute should be anywhere lost in the long and rapid run from Pittsburgh or the west to Washington or New York. In their minds the stage coach and the canal boat are dim and grotesque events under the dust of the middle ages, and lost forever out of the memory of man.

And yet there are men to-day only in the prime of their years and usefulness, who have in their labors bridged over the chasm of development and invention that lies between the stage coach and the palace car. I say there are men, and yet they are very few. The work of one of them, William Thaw, second vice-president of the Pennsylvania company and manager of one of the great lines that belong to that powerful organization, touches on many points of interest, and in telling it one records much that the general reader of to-day has never heard of or has forgotten. Mr. Thaw has been a spectator of many interesting changes in the space of fifty years. His connection with transportation is remarkable, as illustrating the rapidity with which its methods were adapted to the advancing tide of population and traffic that rolled through the gateway of Pittsburgh and on for a thousand miles into the west. He saw the original old Portage road of the Pennsylvania State works staked out, in 1830, with the connecting canals, in 1832, with daily lines of steamboats on the Ohio river, carrying the whole passenger traffic onward to its destination. He has seen the road wagon supplanted by the canal, the canal and steamboat by the railroad. He has, in the early days, seen traffic that was handled and paid for at every change of carrier—from railroad to canal, from canal back to railroad, again to canal, and then on to the steamboat—and also seen it in these later days moved between all points however remote, without a change of vehicle, and billed from its starting-point clear to its destination—from Maine to Mexico if need be; in short, the modern railroad freight system, to the use of which we have grown so accustomed that we cannot realize that any other course was ever pursued. In his own business as forwarder or carrier he has paid five dollars per the one hundred pounds, to the wagoner, for a three hundred miles' haul between Philadelphia or Baltimore and Pittsburgh, occupying twenty days; and has lived to see tonnage scrambled for at rates one hundred times less. In short, Mr. Thaw has spent fifty consecutive years in one line of business, and that, too, over a time in which some marvelous changes have

taken place. That he has kept abreast of the times and made each of these changes subservient to the demands and use of his calling, let his life and its wonderful success stand for answer.

He was born in Pittsburgh on October 12, 1818, of parents who settled there in 1804. His father, John Thaw, came from Philadelphia as teller of a branch of the Bank of Pennsylvania, which was established in Pittsburgh in the last mentioned year. This subsequently became the Pittsburgh branch of the United States bank, of which he was cashier, and whose charter expired in 1836. The son, William, was educated in the Western University of Pennsylvania, located at Pittsburgh. His first business occupation was as clerk in the United States branch bank, in 1834. On February 9, 1835, he engaged in the forwarding and commission business as a clerk with McKee, Clarke & Co. In 1840, in connection with Thomas S. Clarke, he formed the firm of Clarke & Thaw, canal and steamboat owners and transporters, which company continued in business until 1855. These were fifteen busy and remarkable years. The canal system was the great avenue of communication between the east and the west. The opening of some such artificial channel was suggested as early as 1762, but the almost insuperable barriers in the way deterred from any practical attempt. Nothing was done until in 1823 or 1824 a bill passed the Pennsylvania legislature authorizing a commission for the exploration of a route from Harrisburgh to Pittsburgh *via* the Juniata and Conemaugh, the western branch of the Susquehanna, the Sinnemahoning and Allegheny. Public sentiment was stirred up to aid the project along. In August, 1825, a convention of the friends of the enterprise was held at Harrisburgh, in which forty-six counties were represented, and strong resolutions of endorsement adopted. The Juniata and Conemaugh route was reported as the most practicable, and was adopted and the contracts let. In the fall of 1827 water was let into the levels, but the defects of soil were such in many places that it had to be let out again and the sides lined with clay. In the fall of 1834 the Philadelphia & Columbia road, and the Allegheny Portage road over the mountains were completed, giving at last a through line from the metropolis of eastern Pennsylvania to that of western Pennsylvania. It is needless to say that it gave Pittsburgh a wonderful commercial impetus, with the canals feeding her on one side and the great lines of river steamboats on the other. The mineral resources of that section of the country were soon on their way to development—salt, iron, coal, etc. The canal and

great rivers meeting here, it is needless to say that the business of forwarding was one of the great enterprises of the day, and that there was rivalry of the most intense character. Nor need many be told that the Pennsylvania & Ohio line, owned and managed by Clarke & Thaw, held its own with the rest. Under the canal rules each line owned its own boats and horses, employed its own men and ran on its own schedule, paying tolls for the use of the waterway to the state. Each line also owned and loaded or unloaded its own cars on the connecting railways, the owner of the road providing the motive power and charging so much to haul each car a given distance. To overcome the disadvantages of these alternate links of railroads and canal which constituted the main line of the Pennsylvania system of public work, devices were in use by which a canal boat built in three or four sections was placed upon trucks built to hold one section securely, and so carried over the mountains by rail. The state encouraged this system by supplying the trucks and by discriminating tolls, but the inherent defects of the plan prevented its general adoption.

Under this cumbersome and unique system, individual activity and vigilance counted for much, as the great point of one line was to carry its goods to the point of destination before the others. A great business that seemed as though of permanent character was built up, and a large capital was invested in it.

But the new order of things commenced gradually to dawn. The possibilities of steam began to suggest themselves, and experiments of a crude but potent nature were tried with a main result of success. When the firm of Clarke & Thaw was only six years old, on April 13, 1846, the now great and powerful Pennsylvania Railroad company had a small and humble beginning. Its original line was declared to be between Harrisburgh and Pittsburgh. The work of construction was begun at the first named place in July, 1847. The division from that point to a junction at Hollidaysburgh, at the eastern base of the mountains, with the Portage railroad—then a state work and operated in connection with the canals—was opened September 16, 1850. The western division, from the western end of the Portage railroad at Johnstown to Pittsburgh, was opened September 10, 1852. The mountain division was opened February 15, 1854, and the subsequent purchase by the Pennsylvania Railroad company of the Philadelphia and Columbia road from its original owner, the state, gave a direct rail connection from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh,

and put an end to the canals. For the works purchased of the state, between those two points, the Pennsylvania Railroad company paid \$7,500,000 in its five per cent. bonds, payable at the rate of \$460,000 annually, the balance, after the payment of interest, going to the reduction of the principal.

When the railroads began to offer their competition to the canal and river boats, which long experience and care had placed on the footing of good management, and to which an undisputed field heretofore had given possession of the then existing business, the steam railroad lines were such clumsy and ill managed affairs that, for a year or so, the transporters by the old methods actually held their own, and began to believe that the new order of things would not disturb them so much after all. But gradually they came to see their mistake. As the railroads developed and stretched out into points where the water lines could not reach, as connections with this city or that were made, as the new monster settled to his harness and became more manageable, as the crude methods of the early days began to work into those that were of a better order, the inevitable result began to be seen. The course that had made a success of the waterways had a like effect on the iron lines. Experience, method and the adjustment of clashing interests brought harmony and smoothness, and the steam began to gain the victory. The weaker, as has been the case in every contest since that between Eve and the serpent, went to the wall. The year 1855 saw Mr. Thaw, with others in a like position, with a difficult task on his hands—which was to dispose of his vessel and canalboat interest with the least possible loss. He gave the year to the task; the canalboats were sold here and there as they could be, the most of them going to canal systems that were yet in operation. The great boats on the Ohio proved a more difficult task. By close figuring and hard work, Mr. Thaw had about completed an arrangement to run them on the lower Mississippi as mail boats, when the postmaster-general, for political reasons, gave the contracts to a weak and poorly equipped line, and so that avenue of escape was closed. The attempt made to hold their own against the roads lasted over several years and was attended with inevitable loss. Had the owners taken some of these boats that, in 1852, were worth \$40,000 each, and run them, early in 1853, on a sandbar and set fire to them without insurance, they would have saved money, so costly did the competition become. The history of the great Ohio steamers was, in short, a repetition of that made by the palatial lines on

Lake Erie in the decade between 1850 and 1860. The course of the roads at first was not altogether a success, as they had their discouragements and heavy trials. Some of them were able to raise just enough money to build the roadway and lay the iron, and were compelled to depend on others for equipment. Mr. Thaw himself was one of a partnership which built one hundred cars—a great undertaking in those days—and leased them to the poor and struggling Fort Wayne road.

In 1856 Mr. Thaw joined his former partner, Thomas S. Clarke, who had the year before undertaken the conduct of the freight traffic of the Pennsylvania Railroad company to and from all points west of Pittsburgh. This was a business then only in its infancy, and about to leave the Ohio river for the lines of railroad just opened from Pittsburgh to Chicago and St. Louis. The crude and tedious methods of handling freight have been alluded to in the above, but those who have been used only to the methods in operation to-day can hardly understand how cumbersome the old way was and are surprised that an improvement should not have been earlier suggested. A small line of railroad would carry a miscellaneous load of goods to the terminus of its responsibility or authority, turn them over to the next line, unpack from one car into another, receive pay for the distance traversed, new bills would be made for the next line, and the same operation repeated at every change of road. Depots were built apart, and traffic had to be hauled across from one to the other on drays, causing expense and delay. The whole thing was an experiment, we must remember, and had to go through the usual stages of development and growth. It was a great step forward when the point was reached where a car was unloaded and its contents directed to be kept together and sent forward as a designated carload on the next line.

By 1864 the progress of railway construction and the great increase of traffic forced the adoption of methods to avoid these transfers and re-handling and to meet the public demand for responsible through bills of lading in place of the divided and irresponsible way in which, until then, the several roads forming any long line conducted their through business. In meeting this want the Pennsylvania system of roads devised the first organization for supplying through cars, both to avoid transfer and to supply equipment to the then new and poor roads west of Pittsburgh. Of this undertaking, known as the Star Union line, Mr. Thaw had charge until 1873. It was followed by similar methods on other roads; and, with modifications to meet the increasing growth of tonnage, it still re-

mains in operation in the larger organization of the Pennsylvania company. Those who, as spectators, viewed this solving of the great traffic problem, and noted the value of the new method that had supplanted the old, give to William Thaw a large share of the credit thereof, feeling that it was his keen vision, his ready appreciation of what was needed, and executive ability in adapting opportunities to those needs, that largely produced the desired result. But Mr. Thaw, with an earnestness that means sincerity, and with a modesty that is one of the chief characteristics of the man, disclaims any credit of a special nature, and says that his labor was shared by many men, and that the new order of things came by its own motion and because there was need of it. In some way, and by some hands, he feels, it would have been worked out to a solution.

Mr. Thaw's next onward step in the railroad business was taken in connection with the Pennsylvania company. That great enterprise was chartered by the legislature of Pennsylvania on April 7, 1870, for the purpose of managing in the interest of the Pennsylvania Railroad company the railroads leased and controlled by the latter west of Pittsburgh. Its power, immensity and responsibility may be imagined from the following summary of the lines under its control: Total length of line leased to the Pennsylvania company, 1,357.5 miles; length of line through stock ownership, 1,433.2 miles; length of line through advances and guarantees of the Pennsylvania Railroad company, 420.5 miles; aggregate length of lines operated, 3,211.2 miles. Among these lines are such important railways as the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago, the Erie & Pittsburgh railroad, the Cleveland & Pittsburgh and its branches, the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis railway (Pan Handle), the Chicago, St. Louis & Pittsburgh railroad, the Cincinnati & Muskingum Valley railway, the Little Miami, the St. Louis, Vandalia & Terre Haute railroad, the Grand Rapids & Indiana railroad, and many more of a smaller nature that need not be recapitulated here. The capital stock of the Pennsylvania company was originally \$12,000,000, of which \$8,000,000 was preferred and \$4,000,000 common. The common stock was issued, but in 1874 was purchased by the Pennsylvania Railroad company. Subsequently the capital stock was increased to \$20,000,000 and is entirely owned by the Pennsylvania Railroad company, so that the Pennsylvania company, in all its forms and possessions, is the sole property of the Pennsylvania Railroad company. Mr. Thaw, in addition to being a director in the Pennsylvania Railroad company, is second vice-president

of the Pennsylvania company. Since 1873 he has been largely relieved of duties connected immediately with transportation, and has been giving his attention mainly to the internal and financial affairs of the corporation he serves. He is also second vice-president of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis railway, managed by the Pennsylvania company.

Mr. Thaw has been a member of the Third Presbyterian church for many years. He is a director in the Allegheny cemetery. To the Allegheny observatory he has been a warm and generous friend, and much of the grand work that Professor Langley has done for science and to render the name of his institution known the world over could never have been done without the ample and unhesitating generosity of Mr. Thaw. The expedition made to Mt. Whitney, in southern California some years since by Professor Langley, from which such admirable scientific results were obtained, was largely possible through the help of Mr. Thaw; and when Professor Langley, in April last, in his lecture at the Royal Institution, London, spoke of "the liberality of a citizen of Pittsburgh, to whose encouragement the enterprise was due," and who had "furnished the costly and delicate apparatus for the expedition," no one in Pittsburgh needed to be told who was the man so delicately described. Mr. Thaw has been married twice and has a large family of children and grandchildren. Six sons and four daughters are living, three of them married.

Mr. Thaw, in his personal relations, is one of the noblest and most charitable men of Pittsburgh. His immense fortune is worthily used, and such good done with it that no one can begrudge him its possession. His affection for his *alma mater*, the Western University of Pennsylvania, is such that he has given it at various times from three to four hundred thousand dollars. He is, mentally, a remarkable man. Gifted with a high order of intellect which has been ripened by long years of observation and thought, he grasps quickly the salient points of any subject presented to him, and reasons rapidly to a conclusion on the questions it may contain. Caution, however, marks all his efforts to reach the solution of any matter in which he has to exercise sound discretion and good judgment. Though impetuous in temperament and persistent in the assertion of his convictions, he listens well to any one in whom he has confidence that may happen to differ from him, and willingly changes his views when he is convinced that they are wrong. But whoever assumes to set him right must be well prepared on the question for discussion, for Mr. Thaw has a rare command of language and facts, and always



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A Bradley

Eng. by W. T. Williams, N.Y.

delivers himself with such a degree of earnestness that few men are his match. His reasoning is based on his moral convictions of right and duty, and never on mere speculations such as policy or expediency might suggest. Honest, sincere and self-reliant, he never shrinks from the discharge of what he has to do, nor from asserting his well formed opinions. In enterprises of great moment he takes broad and comprehensive views, such as always secure the confidence of his associates, and is regarded as a safe and prudent adviser.

In the social walks of life he is all that kindness could require or courtesy could expect. Buoyant in disposition, mild and gentle in his intercourse with his fellow-men, and strictly upright in all his dealings, he is well entitled to the high rank he has, for his character in all its elements is beyond reproach and his reputation without a stain. His confidence once gained is rarely lost. The friends of his early years are the special objects of his regard, and their children and grandchildren share, by inheritance, the love he bore the parent stock. Neither time nor adversity has changed him towards them, nor will, while the warm emotions of his nature continue. His sympathy for the sick and suffering, his large benefactions to those whose calamities have made their lives bitter and full of sorrow, and his constant efforts for the advancement of projects of a humane character have won for him the admiration and love of his fellow-citizens. Perhaps there is nothing more striking in the structure of his mind than the generous impulses it sends forth. If the widow, the orphan, the sick or the suffering tell him the story of a blasted life, or of the sorrows that have fallen upon them, his heart throbs with emotion at the recital, and his tears are companions of those that course the cheeks of the unfortunate ones. Though rich, he has shown how wealth may add to the glitter of gold by making bright the desolate home and fireside of the poor and needy. He has lived to benefit many, and in a plain, unassuming way, has passed thus far through life, and will, long after the grave closes over him, be remembered for his good deeds.

ALEXANDER BRADLEY.

Among the men who have aided in making Pittsburgh the manufacturing and commercial force she is to-day, who was among her pioneers and who still occupies a position of great usefulness, is Alexander Bradley,

president of the Tradesman's National bank, and of prominence in many ways. Although past the allotted three score and ten, he is a hale and hearty man, capable of large business transactions, with an eye that has lost none of its keenness and a brain as clear as a bell. He is at his post of duty every day and bids fair to see many a year of usefulness. He was born in Baltimore on October 31, 1812, his father dying when he was only a few months old. He left Baltimore when seven years of age and went to Cumberland, Maryland, where he remained until he was fifteen years old, when he removed to Pittsburgh. His youth was devoted to hard labor, such education as he was given coming through his own efforts, and all that he has accumulated is the result of his own industry and brains. He learned the foundry business and learned it well, and in these later years he says that the idea early found lodgment in his mind that no matter how high up he should be enabled to go in the business, it was to his benefit to know all the facts thereof and to be its master from the bottom up. He entered the employ of W. T. McClurg, then one of the leading iron men of Pittsburgh. When he was only sixteen years of age he innocently fell a victim to the intense political rancor of those days. In 1828 General Jackson, who had been elected to the Presidency, paid a visit to Pittsburgh. A number of the men in McClurg's employ made him a visit, and probably only did so from a due regard to the hero of New Orleans and the holder of so high an office. The boy Bradley went with the rest, with no idea that any political significance could be attached to the act. But he and the men whom he had accompanied found themselves out of work on their return, as McClurg, who was an intense Federalist, resented their action. Young Bradley, although not apprenticed, had agreed to remain during an apprentice's period at low wages, and the move was fortunate for him, as he soon went into another foundry on full pay. He was employed for a time by Freeman & Miller, and spent a short time in Connellsville. In 1837 he began life on his own account, becoming a partner in the Franklin foundry, owned by W. T. McClurg & Company, the chief partner being his old employer. In 1846 he made a move that gave direction to his whole after life and has had much to do with the business success of Pittsburgh. The idea did not lie pleasantly on his mind that all the stoves used in and about Pittsburgh were made elsewhere, and he determined that that fact should stand in reproach no longer. He embarked in the stove manufacture. His brother Charles was associated with him, and the name of the firm was A. Bradley & Company,

which it has been ever since, through all the days of its great success, no change being made when, at the death of his brother, in 1848, Mr. Alexander Bradley became the sole proprietor, as he is at present. The foundry was located on the present site of the Allegheny depot, above Sixteenth street, on the Allegheny river. The struggle for the first few years was a severe one, as the new firm had little money, and from the start lived up to a rule which Mr. Bradley has always lived up to—never to go in debt. Such business as could be done on the capital at command was done, while the rest had to wait until a better time in the future. They commenced with about fifty men. They sold all they made quite readily, but the whole venture was carried on in a limited and safe way. The first lot of one hundred that was ever sold on one order was regarded as a great commercial transaction and as one of the business events of that year. The goods went to a man named Slocum, who lived at Brownsville. In small lots the stoves went for sixteen dollars each, but this order was filled for fifteen hundred dollars. Five years afterwards the firm had so increased its business that the cost of manufacture was lessened, and they could afford to sell the same stove for ten dollars. The iron they used in the early days came mostly from Ironton and Portsmouth. As the years went by and Mr. Bradley's reputation for fair dealing and honest work grew, his business began to broaden out, and he soon found himself with all he could do. The rapid opening of the great west gave him a field which he made good use of. The result was that his little establishment soon found itself the largest stove foundry in western Pennsylvania, and one of the best known in the land. The question of enlargement was soon presented and a change of place decided on, a purchase of land being made on Twelfth and Aetna streets, the present location. The spot is that occupied by McClurg at the time Mr. Bradley first entered his employ, when he first began to learn the foundry business. The point is one of the historic places of Pittsburgh in the iron business, and where many cannon were made for the government during the Rebellion. Mr. Bradley leveled the old buildings to the ground, erecting new ones and creating such an establishment as was best fitted in every respect for the business it was to carry on. It gives employment to over one hundred and fifty men, and some idea of the extent to which the small beginning of 1846 has grown can be found in the fact that in one year twenty-one thousand stoves were made.

Mr. Bradley has in later years given much attention to other lines of

business, and especially to banking. He founded the Tradesman's National Bank of Pittsburgh that opened for business on December 31, 1864. It is recognized as one of the soundest and best managed financial institutions of the west. Mr. Bradley has been its president from the start, and gives to it a close personal attention. Its charter was renewed for twenty years in 1884. For the last eight or nine years it has been a government depository, and has paid out over ten million dollars in pension money alone. One day in each three months sees a busy scene at this institution. The doors are open half an hour earlier than on other days, but even then a crowd of from five to seven hundred pensioners are in waiting, and a stranger in the city would half imagine that there was a run on the bank. There are many white haired and crippled veterans in the line, but the majority are women. Each year some poor old fellow's name will be absent here and there from the roll, showing that death has called over the list at the end of life's battle and claimed its own. It becomes no cause of pain to any citizen of the republic for which these men so bravely fought, to feel that out of the Nation's purse came help and sustenance to them during the closing years of their lives.

Mr. Bradley has also been connected with many other of the banking institutions of Pittsburgh. He was for a number of years a director in the old Trust company, which became afterwards the First National bank. He was a director for three years in the Citizens' National bank, and is one of the owners of the Pittsburgh Bank for Savings, a very prosperous concern. He is one of its directors. He was one of the originators of the Dollar Savings bank, which was started to encourage the poor to make deposits and thus save money which might otherwise have been wasted. It has now some nine million dollars in deposits, and has done a great degree of good. He resigned from its directory in 1862. In other lines of business and in charitable work he has been active. He has been for years one of the leading spirits in the Monongahela Navigation company, and was through a long term of service one of its most active directors. For twenty years he has been a trustee of the University of Western Pennsylvania; is president of the board of trustees of Allegheny college at Meadville; was one of the originators of Christ's church (Methodist) at Pittsburgh, and has been president of its board of trustees for twenty years. He has also been prominent in other public and benevolent institutions and societies, which I will not here stop to name.

While engaged in important business enterprises, Mr. Bradley has also

found time for culture in many directions and for travel. He has visited California and other of the great points of interest in the far west. In 1862 his health gave way in such degree that he was compelled to cease personal attention to business, and made a trip to Europe. He was absent only four months, as his deep interest in the stirring events on this side drew him home with a power that nothing else could have exercised. One cannot spend an hour in his company without feeling that no matter through what lines of Scottish ancestry or clans his lineage may run, there is not a thought in his heart or a fibre in his being that does not feel itself rooted in a pure American patriotism. This trait makes itself felt in everything he does or says, and is one of his distinctive qualities of character. I was talking with him once touching his view of things abroad, when he said, with a deep emotion, "The saddest day of my life was one in which the newsboys all day sung out: 'All about the Federal disaster.' It was when I was in Europe, and that cry, coming as it did when far away and among strangers, weighted me with an inexpressible feeling of sadness and fear. One cannot describe it. A few Americans would get together, and they could think of nothing else." On his return from Europe on this first trip he was a passenger on the Great Eastern. To while away the time, a series of races were gotten up, Mr. Bradley and other returning Americans being among the managers and contributors to the purse that had been made up. On one occasion it was noticed that the American flag was not up. The Americans decided that no race could come off until that was attended to. The officer in charge of the boat could do nothing, and said it was all in the hands of the captain, an Englishman, who was then asleep. He would not waken him. Then, said the Americans, nothing further could be done. Finally the captain was sent for, and was met by Mr. Bradley and the rest of the delegation. He stormed some and swore a little because the Americans were "such sticklers," but the flag went up and the races went on. The incident illustrates the feelings loyal men of the north had in those days touching the old flag. Mr. Bradley again crossed the ocean, in 1867, and made an extended European tour. In these later days he gives a part of his time to business affairs with the enterprise and watchfulness of early times, and a part to the quiet of his beautiful home, on Center avenue, at Millvale station, on the Pennsylvania railroad, one of the most attractive of the suburbs of Pittsburgh. His life has been one of labor and usefulness and the large material results that have come to him have been honestly

gained and are most worthily used. His active benevolence is one of the bright things to be seen amid the selfish deeds of mankind. He is an especial friend to the church, giving to all denominations, with an added generosity to his own. A gentleman who knows him well says: "He has investments in hundreds of Methodist churches between New York and New Orleans." He founded the Latin chair at Meadville college, giving it twenty-five thousand dollars, and has given liberally to that college in other ways. Many of the benevolent institutions of Pittsburgh count him among their most liberal friends, and the good his money has done in the world cannot be estimated until the full records of many lines of work are written. His charity in private is great, and viewed from any side of life he cannot but be counted an upright, useful and noble man.

CHARLES ELWOOD WARREN.

THE EARLY RAILROAD INTERESTS OF CLEVELAND.

I.

On June 18, 1812, congress formally declared war on Great Britain, and on June 28, a swift riding-expressman came galloping into Cleveland bearing the President's proclamation of that important fact. Ten days of the most rapid work, of which horse-flesh, with frequent relays, was possible, had been consumed in carrying the news from the Potomac to the Cuyahoga. I mention this incident simply as evidence of the means for going about on the face of the earth that were open to our forefathers. Where the rivers and lakes did not furnish a natural highway, they had only their own muscles or those of their horses and oxen to depend on. As an odd sample of natural fact they no doubt had heard of Hero's engine in which steam was captured and controlled two hundred years before the Christian era, of the Spanish DeGaray who in 1543 propelled a vessel by steam power in the harbor of Barcelona, of the Italian physician who, in 1620 ground his drugs by aid of this vaporous monster; and more than likely they had read of the stationary engine of Watts, the toy locomotive of William Murdoch, and even of the success of Trevithick and Stephenson who opened this progressive century with the building of the first locomotive by which cars were propelled. But the railroad, during the first and

second decade of the century, as a means of practical transportation made pliable to the uses of daily commercial life, was a matter altogether in the air. Cleveland had, in the early days, the same crude means of movement and the same difficulties to face that were granted to her pioneer neighbors, except that the lake gave her vessel facilities in one direction, and the Cuyahoga river in another. Overland freight came by winter in sleighs, and by summer on a big vehicle called a "Pennsylvania" or "Conestoga" wagon which had to be put together solidly and well provided with strong horses to overcome the difficulties of the pioneer roads. As compared with other means of travel, the stage coach was the "palace car" of its day. Cleveland took a long stride upward when in 1820, a stage line connected it with Columbus, and in the autumn another joined her to Norwalk. Wagon lines about the same time were established to Pittsburgh and Buffalo. The conveyance in which passengers to Pittsburgh rode has been described to the writer by an old settler as "a canvas top set solidly on a springless wagon, with three plain boards for seats." Hon. Harvey Rice tells of a trip he made to Buffalo about 1825. Their conveyance was a rude wagon and their road through the wilderness with an occasional pioneer settlement or Indian camp. The weather was so bad a part of the time that the passengers were compelled to lie down in the wagon box and cover themselves with horse blankets. Two days and two nights were consumed in the passage, or about a week for the round trip, at a cost of ten dollars, which did not include meals. Passengers by stage coach in the summer had a comparatively easy time, but in the spring or fall their lot was often one of trouble. "The traveler" says an early account "was sure to be called on to go on foot a large portion of the time, and was often expected to shoulder a rail and carry it from mudhole to mudhole, to pry out the vehicle in which he was, in theory, supposed to be riding." In 1823 a movement was set on foot for the improvement of the public highway. The state directed the laying out of a "free road" from Cleveland to the Ohio river in Columbiana county. A movement was made in the same year to turnpike the stage road running to the southwest, and as a result the Wayne, Medina and Cuyahoga turnpike company came into being and did a good work, making one of the best highways in the state. In 1824 another state road was laid out, running through Warrensville and Orange, and out of Cleveland along the line now known as Kinsman street. With these wagon and stage lines, with the canal when opened, and with the facilities offered by the lake, the travel-

ing public was compelled to content itself until the great railroad era dawned.

I find traces of a projected Cleveland and Newburgh road, in 1835, but it came to nothing. As a foreshadowing of what might be done, there was built, about that date, a tramway with wooden rails, from the city to the stone quarries of East Cleveland, that terminus being about where Adelbert college now stands. The rails were of oak, from four to six inches square. The line ran along one side of Euclid road, now Euclid avenue, although there is no record of any one having given the right of way. Horse power supplied the place of a locomotive, and stone was the freight. No attempt was made to handle a passenger traffic. The road ended in failure, as the keeping up of the line and general expenses made the carrying of stone cost more than by the old methods. A far more ambitious venture was the famous but unfortunate Ohio railroad, that was the first actual attempt to make a way for steam power through this city. Its chief promoter and friend in this section was a Mr. Allen of Willoughby, a Quaker, and at one time a member of the Ohio Legislature. Its route was from the Pennsylvania line to the projected city of Manhattan, some miles below Toledo, on the Maumee river. The state was persuaded to guarantee it one hundred thousand dollars, and in payment thereof held a first lien on the road. Under an expansive clause in its charter the projectors claimed the legal right to do a banking business. A large number of notes were set afloat by the company, being secured by the property of the road. This scrip had a large circulation. The money received was used in work at various points, and in laying out and advertising the proposed metropolis of the Maumee valley. A great many purchased the lots of the new city. Such parts of the road as were built seemed to have been placed where they would attract the most attention and advertise the scheme. In place of grading, wooden stilts were used, and a good share of the track was to be carried along over this sort of a foundation. The route through Cleveland extended out Lorain street, and not over ten years ago these wooden reminders of a past greatness could still be seen between Cleveland and Sandusky. The crash of 1837 came, and the Ohio railroad passed out of existence like dry stubble in the flame. The city of Manhattan went back to its condition of semi-swampdom and has practically remained so since. The men who had placed money in it never took any out. Holders of the scrip saw it change to worthless paper in their hands. The state never received a dollar in return for its

investment. The right of way passed into other hands, and eventually was put to other railroad uses.

CLEVELAND, COLUMBUS, CINCINNATI & INDIANAPOLIS.

It was in these days, but prior to the panic, that a genuine railroad project took form, and the foundations of one of our main lines were laid. Hon. John Barr visited Cincinnati and interested capitalists to work in connection with those of Cleveland, and on March 14, 1836, the charter of the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati Railroad company was granted. It permitted the construction of a railroad from Cleveland *via* Columbus and Wilmington to Cincinnati. The phenomenal "hard times" that followed a period of wonderful inflation prevented the work being entered upon and the charter lay dormant until 1845, when it was revived, revised and amended by an act of March 12, so as to permit it to build as far as Columbus, but not compelling it to go any farther than that point, and allowing it to unite its road "with any other then or thereafter constructed under authority of the general assembly, leading from any point at or near Lake Erie to or towards the southern part of the state." A new company was organized with John W. Allen, Richard Hilliard, John M. Woolsey and Henry B. Payne as the Cleveland directors, and John W. Allen as president. The city of Cleveland, in encouragement of the enterprise, voted to loan its credit for two hundred thousand dollars. Many were the difficulties that had to be met, and long and severe was the strain upon those who had given themselves to the task. Capitalists abroad were unwilling to lend their aid. A canvass of the city only resulted in securing a subscription of twenty-five thousand dollars. Mr. Woolsey was sent to Cincinnati to negotiate the bonds given by the city, and to Philadelphia and New York to enlist the aid of capitalists of those cities. This last mission was a failure. In the spring of 1847 it looked as though the whole thing would have to be given up in despair, but help came through the willing effort of two influential and sagacious men. Mr. Richard Hilliard and Mr. Henry B. Payne agreed to devote three months of earnest and personal effort to one final attempt, and so well did they apply themselves that additional subscriptions to the amount of forty thousand dollars were obtained, and the skies began to clear. Mr. Alfred Kelley of Columbus, accepted the position of president, and a new source of influence and strength was thus added. Another fortunate move was made when the managers prevailed upon Messrs. Frederick Harbach,

Amasa Stone and Stillman Witt to undertake the construction of the line, and to take the principal part of their pay in stock. At this point in narration I cannot refrain from quoting a graphic and altogether interesting account of the difficulties that were met with prior to reaching the hopeful outlook outlined just above. It is the best account I have ever seen of the form of procedure that was deemed necessary to keep the charter alive at a critical time, and is from a paper prepared by Mr. George F. Marshall for the first meeting of the Early Settlers' association. He says:

In order to save the charter, which had lain dormant for a time it was thought best to make a show of work on the line already surveyed. One bright autumn forenoon about a dozen men got themselves together near the ground now occupied by the Atlantic & Great Western Railway depot with the noble purpose of inaugurating the work of building the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati road. Among the number were Alfred Kelley, the president; T. P. Handy, the treasurer; J. H. Sargent, the engineer; James A. Briggs, the attorney; and H. B. Payne, Oliver Perry, John A. Foote, and others besides your humble servant. On that memorable spot one could look upon those vast fields of bottom lands, and nothing could be seen but unbroken wide meadows. The brick residence of Joel Scranton, on the north and the mill in the ravine of Walworth run on the south were the only show of buildings in all that region round about. These gentlemen had met to inaugurate the work on the railway, yet there was a sadness about them that could be felt. There was something that told them it would be difficult to make much of a railroad without money and labor. Yet they came on purpose to make a show of a beginning. Alfred took a shovel and with his foot pressed it well into the soft and willing earth, placing a good chunk in the tranquil wheelbarrow close at hand, repeating the operation until a load was attained, and dumping it a rod or so to the south. We all shouted a good sized shout that the road was really inaugurated. Then Mr. Handy did a little of the same work, as well as Sargent and Briggs, while I sat on the nearest log, rejoicing to see the work going on so lively and in such able hands. . . . All that fall and winter one man was kept at work on the great enterprise, simply to hold the charter. . . . There was a serious hinderance in the progress of the work, which came in this wise: The laborer who had so great a job on his hands took a look and thought at what he had to do. It was one hundred and forty miles to Columbus, and it was best to hurry up or the road would not be ready for use for quite a spell to come. He set to work with renewed energy for a while, then threw himself quite out of breath on the ground for a brief rest, when the rheumatism took hold of him and sciatica troubled his limbs so much that the great work was brought to a standstill. He struck for his altars and his fires at home, while the next fall of snow obliterated the line of his progress toward the south, and the directors got together to devise ways and means to keep the work moving onward.

The result shows that it did go on, for in February of 1851 the first through train was run from Columbus to Cleveland, bearing the members of the general assembly, state officers and many prominent citizens from the capital and from along the line. The terminus of the road had originally intended to be at Scranton's flats, but it was run across the river and into the city, and eventually found itself in the Union depot. That it early formed one of the main arteries of Cleveland's commercial life was demonstrated years ago, and that it has always been managed for the good of this city is a fact so well known and so thoroughly appreciated that only a reference thereto is necessary.

The history of the new lines that were formed for purposes of their own but eventually became a part of this great system, can be briefly told. The Springfield & Mansfield Railroad company was chartered March 21, 1850, with authority to construct a road from Springfield to Mansfield. In the August term of the court of Clarke county, in 1852, a decree was entered changing the name of the company to the Springfield, Mt. Vernon & Pittsburgh Railroad company. The company failing to meet its liabilities, it was in 1860 placed in the hands of John R. Hilliard as receiver. By order of the court the road was divided into two parts and sold on January 1, 1861. The part which was already built and laid with iron, extending from Springfield to Delaware, was purchased by parties who, on January 1, 1862, resold it to the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati company, being thereafter known as the Springfield branch. On December 26, 1864, there was filed in the office of the secretary of state of Ohio an agreement entered into on September 4 of that year for a consolidation of two roads already existing—the Indianapolis, Pittsburgh & Cleveland Railroad company of Indiana, and the Bellefontaine & Indiana Railroad company of Ohio—by which these two organizations were consolidated under the name of the Bellefontaine Railway company. In May, 1868, an agreement was made between this latter named company and the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati Railroad company, by which they were consolidated under the name of the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis Railway company. Connection with Indianapolis was thus gained; and a permanent extension through to Cincinnati was gained at a later date by a perpetual lease of the Cincinnati & Springfield Railway company's lines. On the thirteenth of April, 1880, this organization leased the Mt. Gilead short line, running from Levering station to Mt. Gilead; and on June 23, 1882, it purchased the Indianapolis & St. Louis road from Indianapolis to Terre Haute, and also its rights as lessee of the St. Louis, Alton & Terre Haute line, which runs from East St. Louis to Terre Haute. With this was also acquired the Alton branch from Wann to Alton in Illinois.

CLEVELAND & PITTSBURGH.

By another special act of the Ohio legislature on March 14, 1836, the same day on which that of the above named road was issued, a charter was granted to the Cleveland, Warren & Pittsburgh Railroad company, permitting it to construct a railroad from Cleveland to the eastern Ohio line,

and to there connect with any road to be built under the laws of Pennsylvania. As all railroad experience was limited in those days in a matter of legislation as well as actual practice, the charter was broad in its scope and loose in its provisions. It allowed the president and directors to issue and sell stock to any limit their desires or necessities might direct, gave them permission to select any route they might choose, to condemn land, and to propel their cars by any motive power they might select. The same evil days that befell the connection between the Forest City and Cincinnati disturbed and delayed the venture toward the southeast; and the same revival of confidence that set the one afloat had a reviving effect on the other. An act of revival and amendment was passed on March 11, 1845, and the route was changed from "the most direct in the direction of Pittsburgh" to "the most direct, practicable and least expensive route to the Ohio river, at the most suitable point." The company was organized at Ravenna, in October of 1845. James Stewart of Wellsville was elected president, A. G. Cattell secretary, and Cyrus Prentiss treasurer. All preliminary arrangements were made as speedily as possible, and the usual amount of labor and responsibility placed on the shoulders of the willing few. The history is similar to that of its predecessor in some respects, and its final triumph and usefulness formed a parallel to its neighbor's. In July, 1847, the first contracts were let from Wellsville northward, and the actual work commenced. The Cleveland end of the line dragged somewhat from lack of money, and it was not until 1849 that the last of the work was finally let. By legislation had in February of that year the city of Cleveland was authorized to subscribe to the capital stock of the company. In March, 1850, the company was authorized to extend an arm down the valley of the Sandy so far south as to intersect the Steubenville & Indiana road. It was under the authority of this action that it eventually built the Tuscarawas branch, extending from Bayard to New Philadelphia. In February, 1851, the long trial began to have an ending, and the line was opened from Cleveland to Hudson. In March it opened on to Ravenna, and in November to Hanover. In 1852 the connection through to Pittsburgh was finally arranged for. A history of its Akron branch will be found in connection with that of the Cleveland, Mt. Vernon & Delaware. On April 18, 1853, the legislature of Pennsylvania passed a law incorporating the Cleveland & Pittsburgh Railroad company, and giving full assent to all the provisions of the Ohio charter. Under this and later legislation the company completed

its road to Rochester, Pennsylvania, and from Yellow Creek to Bellaire. In December, 1862, a contract was entered into with the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railway company for a division of gross earnings of the two companies upon a specified basis, and for the joint use of the track of the latter from Rochester to Pittsburgh, a monthly rental of \$7,083.33 being paid therefor, in addition to one-half the cost of repairs. In October, 1871, the Cleveland & Pittsburgh road was leased to the Pennsylvania Railroad company for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, from December 1, 1871, the consideration being an annual rental of \$786,795, payable in quarterly installments, and the payments of interest, sinking fund, lease of track of Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago railway, and in addition \$10,000 per annum to maintain and preserve its corporate organization. I have discovered some interesting points concerning the early days of this line in an article prepared by Mr. R. F. Smith, its present general manager, for the Cleveland Board of Trade report of 1871. He says:

It is curious to note the experimental nature of railroading even at that comparatively recent period, as illustrated by the provisions of section second of the act named, which authorized the corporation to transfer "property and persons upon their road by the power and force of steam, of animals, or of any mechanical or other power or any combination of them," and by permitting all other companies and persons to transfer property and passengers upon the said road in their own vehicles and with their own power, subject to the rules and regulations of the company, upon the payment of tolls, after the manner of canal navigation. . . . The general assembly with the governor and various other officers of the state, having passed over the line of the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati, from Cincinnati to Cleveland, celebrating its opening to the public, were on the twenty-second of February, 1851, invited to visit the thriving village of Hudson before their return to the substantial realities of life at the capital. This trip was accomplished by the honorable gentlemen, not, however, without experiencing upon the rough and unballasted track of the incipient highway, the vicissitudes incidental to railroad life. Owing to some misunderstanding the supply of edibles at Hudson was far too meagre, and the train getting off the track upon the return trip, the excursionists were detained to a late hour of the night, but eventually their honors were safely landed again in the city upon the lake shore, a hungrier if not a wiser and happier set of men. In March following the track was constructed to Ravenna, and in November to Hanover, a distance of seventy-five miles from Cleveland. In the exuberance of their joy the stockholders at their meeting resolved "that the directors be requested to give a free ticket to each stockholder and his lady to ride over the road from Cleveland and Hanover and return at any time within thirty days, and that landholders through whose land the road passes shall be entitled to a free ticket for themselves and wives from twenty days of the opening of the road, and that the same privilege be extended over the other portions of the road when completed."

In speaking of the financial part of the venture, Mr. Smith says that "the enterprise thus completed and about to enter upon what seemed a course of prosperity was overtaken by the financial revulsion of 1857, and the stagnation of business, combined with a heavy floating debt, threatened total loss of the invested capital. The stock which a year before had ranged above par was brought down to seven and even five cents

on the dollar in the market, and only by the most economical and skillful management was the road saved to the stockholders. Upon the breaking out of the war the road shared with other northern lines the traffic diverted by the closing of the Mississippi and the stimulated business consequent on the war, and rapidly emerging from its low estate its stock reached the high rate of one hundred and forty-five per cent."

CLEVELAND & MAHONING VALLEY.

Special reference is made at a later point in this article to some of the faith, labor and life blood that were put into the Cleveland & Mahoning railroad enterprise, and of the financial and business difficulties that had to be surmounted before it reached a day of success. It was projected for the primal purpose of opening and developing the coal and mineral regions of the Mahoning valley, and also to furnish a connection between Cleveland and Pittsburgh. It was chartered on February 22, 1848, incorporated in 1851 and the first meeting of stockholders held at Warren, Trumbull county, in June of 1852. Local subscriptions to the amount of \$300,000 were reported, and estimates and surveys were ordered prepared. The prime mover and most earnest friend of the scheme was Jacob Perkins of Warren, who risked his fortune, gave his strength, and finally sacrificed his life in its behalf. The directors in the day of beginning were Jacob Perkins, Frederick Kinsman, Charles Smith, David Tod, Dudley Baldwin, Robert Cunningham and James Magee—the first three residents of Warren, and the rest of Youngstown, Cleveland, New Castle and Philadelphia in the order named. It was a long and uphill struggle before the day of success was reached. Negotiations for mutual aid were opened with the Pennsylvania & Ohio Railroad company and with the Pittsburgh & Erie, but neither would enlist under the Mahoning banner. Cleveland was made the headquarters, and a purchase of land made enabling the road to get a foothold here. There was much surveying of routes and hesitation between those suggested, but finally the present one through Mantua, Warren and Youngstown was chosen. Attempts were made to induce the Pennsylvania legislature to allow an extension of the line into that state, but the influence of rival roads prevented, as the Pennsylvania lawmakers seem to have begun even at that early day to gain the reputation that has clung to them since. Up to 1854 there was a fair promise of success, but in that year the annual report of the directors took on a tone of despondency that boded ill for the future. The condition of the money

market had altered for the worse, and capital began to take fear as if in anticipation of the financial storm that soon fell. It was difficult to dispose of the bonds of the road to the monied men of this country, and in a visit paid to Europe by President Perkins, in the spring of 1854, in the interests of the road, he met with no better success. "In this the darkest day of the enterprise" says one local historian "Mr. Perkins manifested his confidence in its ultimate success and his generous willingness to meet fully his share of the hazard to be incurred by proposing to them, jointly with him, to assume that risk, and agreeing that in case of disaster he would himself pay the first \$100,000 of loss, and thereafter share it equally with them. With a devotion to the interests entrusted to them, a determination rarely equaled in the history of our railroad enterprises, they unanimously accepted this proposition, and determined to complete the road at least to a remunerative point in the coal fields of the Mahoning valley." This final decision, made at the critical moment, not only saved what had been invested but gave to Cleveland and to the Mahoning valley a means of communication and a source of wealth that has been of the utmost value and importance to them both. In 1857 the road was opened as far as Youngstown, and a point thus reached where immediate returns began to come in from the growing coal and iron regions. The line seems to have held its own from the start. On October 7, 1863, the road was leased to the Atlantic & Great Western Railroad company for ninety-nine years, including its branch to Hubbard then not completed. The lessee for the use of the property agreed to pay \$273,072 per annum, in monthly payments; and a purchase was made for the sum of \$405,802.45 of all rolling stock, shops, tools, etc. Branches of the Cleveland & Mahoning road built prior to 1873 were the Niles & New Lisbon and the Liberty & Vienna railroad; and by articles dated July 25, 1872, the three companies—the Cleveland & Mahoning railroad, the Niles & New Lisbon railway, and the Liberty & Vienna railroad—were consolidated under the name of the Cleveland & Mahoning Valley Railway company. These roads on consolidation were put into operation under the name of the Mahoning division of the Atlantic & Great Western railroad.

LAKE SHORE & MICHIGAN SOUTHERN.

A detailed history of all the charters, acts, amendments, incorporations, and, above all, financial struggles, that made up the half score of minor roads finally merged into the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern

Railway company would make a volume by itself, and I can do no more here than to give a brief outline thereof. Trunk lines with a through business to depend on and a local traffic as incidental, did not enter into the calculations of the railroad projectors in the early days. Two or more cities having come to the conclusion that there was business and would be travel enough within their influence and along the section of country to be traversed to warrant a railroad, it was set on foot and the matter of extensions from any direction was generally left to be decided in an afterthought. After a time a number of these disjointed sections would be joined by the absent links and the great trunk line brought into being. The road under consideration at present is a marked example of that character, as a consideration of the roads that form it, taken up in the order of their initial dates, will show. The first met with in that method of discussion is the Erie & Kalamazoo Railway company, which was chartered on April 22, 1833, by the Territory of Michigan, with authority to construct a road from Toledo, Ohio (then known as Port Lawrence), to a designated point on the Kalamazoo river. The road was only built from Toledo to Adrian, a distance of thirty-three miles. In May, 1849, the road was leased in perpetuity to the Michigan Southern Railway company of Michigan, an organization chartered on May 9, 1846, with authority to purchase from the state of Michigan all right and interest in the Southern railroad, which the state itself had commenced in 1838, and only finished between Monroe and Hillsdale. A half million dollars was paid for this property and the line was completed from Monroe to a point on the southern line of the state, where connection was established with other roads. Meanwhile, in February, 1835, the Buffalo & Mississippi Railroad company was chartered by the state of Indiana to construct a road from the eastern to the western boundary line of that state. In 1837 its title was changed to the Northern Indiana Railroad company. Eventually, under various acts, a line was constructed from the eastern to the western line of the state and from Elkhart to the northern state line, where connection was made with the above named Michigan Southern road.

Meanwhile the links of the future great line were being welded and deposited at points further east. In March, 1851, Ohio permitted the incorporation of the Northern Indiana Railroad company of Ohio, with authority to stretch a line from Toledo to the state line of Indiana; also one from Toledo northward to Monroe. Under this charter a road was

built between the points named, connecting with the Northern Indiana road of Indiana, and from Toledo to the northern line of the state forming a portion of the Detroit, Monroe & Toledo line. As was foreshadowed in the similarity of names, the Northern Indiana railroad companies of Ohio and Indiana, on July 8, 1853, consolidated into one company under the name of the Northern Indiana Railroad company. In November, 1850, the Northern Indiana & Chicago Railroad company filed articles of association with the secretary of state of Illinois for the construction of a road southeasterly to the state line, to intersect the road of the western division of the Buffalo & Mississippi company. The road was immediately built between these points, a distance of thirteen miles. The work of consolidation soon commenced with extensive features. On February 7, 1855, a compact was entered into by which the Northern Railroad company of Ohio & Indiana, the Buffalo & Mississippi Railroad (western division) of Indiana and the Northern Indiana & Chicago railroad company of Illinois were merged into one, which was called the Northern Indiana Railroad company, and which gave a through line from Toledo to Chicago. Two months later a still more important step was taken, by which the above line was again consolidated, this time with the Michigan Southern Railroad company, under the growing name of the Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana Railroad company. In the year following this new corporation obtained a lease of the Detroit, Monroe & Toledo railroad, then unfinished, and which finally connected the points named in its title.

Attention must now be turned to the movements going on farther east. On April 12, 1842, the Erie & Northeast Railroad company of Pennsylvania was incorporated to build a road from Erie to some point on the east boundary line of the township of Northeast, in Erie county. Twenty miles of road was the practical result. In October of 1849 the Buffalo & State Line Railroad company was organized in western New York for the building of a road from Buffalo to the western state line, there to connect with a like road leading through to Cleveland, Ohio. On March 9, 1867, an act was passed by the New York legislature permitting this company to join forces with the Erie & Northeast company, and the result was the Buffalo & Erie Railroad company. Meanwhile, on March 2, 1846, the Ohio legislature passed an act incorporating the Junction Railroad company, with authority to construct a road from some point to be selected on the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati line, within

thirty miles of Cleveland, thence, by way of Elyria, to intersect the Mad River & Lake Erie road at Bellevue, or some other point, and from thence on to Fremont; also, for a branch thereof from Elyria, *via* Sandusky, to Fremont. It was this line, as mentioned above, that finally made use of the right of way belonging to the old Ohio road, or the "road on stilts," as it was often described. In March, 1850, the Toledo, Norwalk & Cleveland Railroad company was incorporated for the building of a line from Toledo by way of Norwalk to connect with the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati at or near Wellington, and subsequent power was given it to continue the line on to Cleveland, either by an agreement with the last named line or independent of it. In October, 1852, the Port Clinton Railroad company sprang into existence with a mission to build a line from Sandusky, *via* Port Clinton, to Toledo. Finally, on July 15, 1853, there was a grand consolidation of these small and irregular interests, and the result was that the Junction Railroad company, the Port Clinton Railroad company and the Toledo, Norwalk & Cleveland Railroad company disappeared from sight only to emerge as the Cleveland & Toledo Railroad company. At that time none of them had completed their lines, but the work was subsequently done by the consolidated company.

In 1848 a line was projected that now forms an important part of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern system, which seems to have been a more distinctively Cleveland enterprise than any of the small lines embraced in this division of my subject. It was the incorporation in February of that year of the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula Railroad company with authority to construct a line from Cleveland, *via* Painesville and Ashtabula, to the Pennsylvania state line, and there to connect with any railroad running eastward. The company was organized with a directory consisting of Alfred Kelley, Samuel L. Seldon, Heman B. Ely, George E. Gillett, David R. Paige, L. Lake and Peleg P. Sanford. Heman B. Ely was elected president, Abel Kimball treasurer, and Frederick Harbach engineer. A survey was made under the direction of the last named, and in one of their early reports the directors say:

Aware that the road must of necessity be the common thoroughfare of two great lines of road, converging from the westward at Cleveland and two great lines converging eastward from Erie, the directors have spared no labor or expense in ascertaining the best possible route, and the result is that the road is located, all things considered, upon the most direct line. . . . Though not required for immediate use, in order to lay down a double track the roadway throughout is one hundred feet wide.

The difficulties in the way were many, but the company finally secured the needed money, and made a contract with Frederick Harbach, Amasa



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J. S. Macle

Eng'd by E. G. Williams & Bro. N.Y.

Stone and Stillman Witt on the twenty-sixth of July, 1850, for the construction of the road from Cleveland to the Pennsylvania state line. For the first six months the work progressed slowly, the chief fear of the time being that steam cars could never compete for business with the great boats then running from Cleveland to Buffalo. But the backers kept at it with persistent energy, and finally, late in 1852, a locomotive was enabled to travel its entire length. On May 5, 1854, the Pennsylvania legislature gave the company permission to construct an extension of its line along the Franklin canal railroad—an enterprise that had passed into the control of the state of Pennsylvania—to Erie. The purchase of the Franklin property was made, and thus a road was completed between Cleveland and Erie, with connections through to the east. Steps leading up to the grand final consolidation began to be taken. On October 8, 1867, a lease of the Cleveland & Toledo Railroad company was made to the Cleveland, Painesville & Ash-tabula company. On June 17, 1868, the name of the latter organization was changed to the Lake Shore Railway company, and in February of 1869 the Cleveland & Toledo company formally became, by consolidation, a part of the Lake Shore Railway company. Thus a continuous line, owned and operated by one company, extended from Erie to Toledo. That extension was made still greater, when, on May 8, 1869, this great organization was consolidated with the Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana Railroad company, heretofore fully described, and the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern came into being. The consolidation from Buffalo to Chicago was completed on August 10, 1869, when the Buffalo & Erie company came into the scheme, and this great railroad and commercial force of to-day became an accomplished fact. Of its extensions and dependent lines that were afterwards purchased, leased or built from various points on the main line to Oil City, Youngstown, Jackson, and other places in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, no mention in this connection can be made.

A consideration of the remaining roads touching at Cleveland will be deferred to a subsequent number.

J. H. WADE.

While much of the fame which Jephtha H. Wade has honorably won and modestly worn has been the result of his labors in other fields of usefulness, he has by his ability, personal labor and the free use of his

capital done so much for the railroad interests of Cleveland that a sketch of his life is appropriate here. He has been and is a most useful man in the development and advancement of Cleveland, and it was fortunate for the young city that he chose it for his home at a time when it needed all the brains and courage and capital that could be furnished. Mr. Wade is a native of New York state, and was born in Seneca county on August 11, 1811. His father was a surveyor and civil engineer, so that the son came naturally by the scientific and mechanical gifts that made him famous even before his wealth had attracted any attention to himself. He early developed a taste for art, and in 1835, his health forbidding more robust pursuits, turned his attention to portrait painting, in which he commanded no small share of success. He drifted westward, with an eye ever open to any advantages of position or business that might come in his way, and it was thus that the achievements of the newly invented camera came to his notice while he was in Adrian, Michigan. Feeling that no brush could compete with the sun in catching the features of men, he sent for a camera, and aided only by the printed directions that accompanied it, succeeded in taking the first daguerreotype ever made west of New York. He made the new instrument his servant, and with it and his brush was kept busy until another and greater invention came into view, and eventually gave Mr. Wade employment for many years, made his name familiar all over the land, and laid the foundations of the great fortune he so well knows how to use. It was Morse' invention of the electric telegraph, and his demonstration that messages could be correctly and almost instantaneously transmitted over wires. I had occasion once, in the course of certain newspaper work, to learn from Mr. Wade's own lips the full story of his connection with this great science, and regret beyond expression that his recital in its entirety cannot be recorded here. In the course thereof he said:

It was in 1847 that my mind and hands first turned in that direction. I took a contract to build a telegraph line from Detroit to Jackson, Michigan. We pushed it as rapidly as circumstances would permit, and finished it the same year. It was a frail, one-wire affair. When we reached Jackson I opened the office there. They shipped me an instrument and I set it up and went to work. The next season new territory was opened; a line was run from Detroit to Milwaukee, and another around to Buffalo by way of Cleveland. The following year, 1849, I began the erection of a line of my own from Cleveland to St. Louis by the way of Cincinnati, which we finished in 1850. The next year we changed the route from Cleveland to Cincinnati so as to follow the line of the newly projected railroad. The O'Reilly line from Buffalo to Detroit was built at the same time as the Morse line between those points. The business of building lines increased rapidly, and competition developed as rapidly. It was in 1852, I believe, that the House line was run from Buffalo to Cincinnati. At the same time the Morse service was extended over Indiana and Illinois. We were all endeavoring to do what we could—O'Reilly,

Speed, Cornell and myself—and we had what might be called a Kilkeny fight for a couple of years. No one was making any money, and the only question was as to who could hold out and manage to live the longest. I think the first step from a losing to a self-sustaining business and ultimately paying one was taken in 1854. Our first move was the bringing together of the lines which I controlled and the House lines, controlled by Rochester parties. I remained as general agent of the consolidated lines. That combination gave us control of the routes from Buffalo, St. Louis, Chicago, Detroit, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Milwaukee and intermediate points. Thus started on the road toward a successful business from what had threatened ruin through rivalry, competition and the duplication of expense, we saw our way clear, and line after line was added. The Western Union company was the outcome, and its later history is pretty well known to the public.

It is in these modest words that Mr. Wade relates his connection with one of the greatest enterprises of the age, and in which he was the great moving spirit. He gave not only genius of management to the new science, but aided in working out many of the details. He invented an insulator that is still in use. He was the first to show that a submarine cable in iron armor was not only possible but practicable. It was in his mind the idea first dawned that consolidation and mutual assistance, instead of diverse and warring interests, meant prosperity and wealth in place of ruin, and his energies were enlisted from the first in bringing about the union of all the interests as narrated above. He was one of the originators of the first Pacific telegraph, and on the formation of the Pacific company was made its president. The location of the line and its construction through the immense territory, then in great part a wilderness between St. Louis and San Francisco, were mainly left to his direction; and the work was pushed forward with great enterprise and vigor. In the fall of 1860 Mr. Wade went to California by way of Panama and arranged with parties there to commence the construction from the westward, while another party at the same time pushed on from the east. "The line was first built in the summer of 1861," says Mr. Wade, in the conversation referred to above, "those at each end making an earnest endeavor to reach Salt Lake first. We had no serious work in getting through, although compelled to face some hardships and make peace with the Indians through whose territory we passed. This line was afterwards consolidated with those of the Western Union, and passed under its control." One writer, in paying tribute to this portion of Mr. Wade's telegraphic labors, says:

He is undoubtedly entitled to more credit than any other one man for the successful construction of the trans-continental railway, as it was his energy, foresight, judgment and determination which conceived and carried into practical operation the Pacific telegraph from St. Louis to San Francisco, thus bringing the isolated gold-seekers into instantaneous communication with the eastern world, establishing telegraphic supply stations and otherwise attracting the attention of capitalists to the feasibility and necessity of a railway. The railway was built, following substantially the route of his telegraph, and at

such an unprecedented rate as to astound the world. But he furnished the builders their example. The locating of the line and the manner of carrying forward the enterprise were turned over by the company entirely to him. He purchased a sufficient number of teams, wagons, tools and materials for the entire line, together with tents and provisions for the men, including over one hundred head of fat cattle, to be driven with the party and killed for beef as they were needed. Thus amply equipped, the caravan started westward from the Missouri river in the spring of 1861, taking the precaution to arm each man with a knife, a pair of revolvers, and a sixteen-shooter rifle for protection against the numerous and hostile Indians—completing the line as they went and being compelled, in some places, to draw timber for posts two hundred and fifty miles, and for much of the route all the water for men and teams had to be drawn from long distances. Notwithstanding the many obstacles to be overcome, the line was completed on the twenty-fourth of the following October.

On the consolidation of the Pacific company with the Western Union, Mr. Wade was made president of that then great and growing corporation, which position he held until 1867, when ill health caused him to decline a reelection. The temptation is strong to follow his course through the busy years he gave to that important trust, but lack of space in this connection forbids. The opinion in which his services to the telegraphic interests of the land, and of the world for that matter, is best shown by the following, which is a brief extract from the resolutions adopted by the Western Union directors on his retirement:

Connecting himself with it in its earliest introduction to public use, and interesting himself in its construction, he was the first to see that the ultimate triumph of the telegraph, both as a grand system of public utility and of secure investment, would be by some absorbing process, which would prevent the embarrassments of separate organizations. To the foresight, perseverance and tact of Mr. Wade, we believe, is largely due the fact of the existence of our great company to-day with its thousand arms, grasping the extremities of the continent, instead of a series of weak, unreliable lines, unsuited to public wants, and, as property, precarious and insecure.

Mr. Wade himself, in conversing on this subject recently, said: "I saw from the first that it was destined to become of immense service to the world, and that its limits would expand as the public came to understand and appreciate its uses. In all such things those who go in at the start are the ones who gain the benefit of the natural increase, and I felt safe in investing with it all my time and such means as were at my command." He remained in the directory of the Western Union for several years after his retirement from the presidency, but at present has no connection with the company and holds none of its stock.

The indirect benefit he conferred upon the railroad interests of the country by forcing a telegraph through the wilderness of the far west, along which the first Pacific railroad was afterwards built, is only a small portion of the good he has done in that direction. He was the first to see the advantages of the telegraph to the management of a railroad line, and it was by his advice and suggestion that the experiment was first

made. How would the great railroads of the country manage the immense business of to-day without the telegraph?

Mr. Wade has had direct connection with many roads, not only in Ohio but elsewhere, and wherever he has had an official responsibility he has given it that close, conscientious and watchful care that is one of his business characteristics. He was a director in the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern road for several years, and then resigned, only to be again pressed into the service, where he still is. He was for three years a director in the New York, Chicago & St. Louis road. He was for some time a director and vice-president of the Atlantic & Great Western. He was a director for a number of useful years in the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis company, but gave up that trust five years ago. He was also in the Cleveland & Pittsburgh board, but also resigned that position at the time last mentioned above. He is now president of the Cincinnati, Wabash & Michigan; and is also president of the Kalamazoo, Allegan & Grand Rapids company. He at one time held the position of vice-president and director in the Grand Haven road, and was also a director of the Saginaw Valley & St. Louis line, and is director in the Columbus, Hocking Valley & Toledo road. He is now president of the Valley Railway company, and the service he has rendered and is rendering Cleveland and northern Ohio in that position is too well known to the people of this section to need extended mention. A recent chronicler, in referring to the difficulties attending the opening of that important line, speaks of the contract with the city for the lease of the canal-bed, and then says:

The terms of this contract had not been complied with, and its abrogation by the city was threatened. At this juncture the management of the Valley railroad succeeded in effecting a negotiation with capitalists for the amount necessary to complete and equip the road, but the parties who agreed to lend the money demanded as a condition that Mr. Wade should become the president. Mr. Wade took the matter into consideration, and announced his willingness to assume the position if the canal-bed negotiation could be satisfactorily adjusted without a lawsuit with the city, to which he was utterly averse. The city council met the difficulty by a resolution authorizing the mayor to make and sign a new contract, on terms satisfactory to Mr. Wade and the railroad company. The company was reorganized, with Mr. Wade at its head, the difficulties with the contractors were satisfactorily adjusted, work was renewed, and the road was pushed on to a successful completion.

In many other ways has he been and yet is a living power and force in this city, making his talents and great wealth a source of public good. He aided in the organization of the Citizens' Savings and Loan association in 1867, and has been its president from the day of its foundation. On the death of Joseph Perkins he was elected president of the National Bank of

Commerce. He was one of the chief originators of the Lake View Cemetery association, and was chosen its first president. He was a director of the Second National bank during its entire existence, and is director and was for many years vice-president of the National Bank of Commerce, and is a director of the Cleveland Rolling Mill company, Cleveland Iron Mining company, Union Steel Screw company, and president of the American Sheet and Boiler Plate company, and the Chicago and Atchison Bridge company. He has in addition to the above had interests in many of the commercial and manufacturing institutions of Ohio and the west. He has been and is prominent in many public and charitable institutions. As a sinking fund commissioner, a member of the public park commission, and a director for many years of the Cleveland workhouse board, he has given much valuable time and labor to the free use of the public. He is a member of the executive committee of the National Garfield Monument association. He was for several years vice-president of the Homeopathic hospital, in aid of which he has always been a bountiful contributor, and is president of the Homeopathic College of Medicine. He is one of the trustees of the Protestant Orphan asylum, and his noble-hearted efforts for the housing and care of the little ones is shown in the magnificent stone building on St. Clair street, which he built at his own expense, and presented to the asylum association—a monument that will bear his name in the highest honor long years after he has gone to his reward. The magnificent Wade park he laid out and adorned and then presented to the city need only to be mentioned to show his desire for the public good. In many other public and private ways has he made his fortune a fount of blessing to others. There is no charity of Cleveland that has not been the recipient of his aid, and he is ever among the first to respond when want or suffering present themselves to his view. He is a member of the Church of the Unity and one of its chief supporters.

In his personal characteristics, Mr. Wade is one of the most modest of men, never claiming for himself any precedence in rights over those granted to all men, and with no boast over the grand works he has performed. He is approachable by the humblest, and treats with a natural courtesy all who make a claim upon his time or attention. He is high-minded and honorable in his business transactions. He never went into a venture that he did not believe in, and when in he has always brought to it all the resources of faith and courage at his command. Honesty and industry, a



S. Chamberlain.

far-seeing vision, and a determined method of work, have been the foundation stones of his remarkably successful career.

SELAH CHAMBERLAIN.

Were all the railroad lines which the genius and industry of Selah Chamberlain have aided into being suddenly blotted from the face of the earth, many a valuable and busy line of travel and transportation would cease its operations, and many a proud city or growing town would lament the absence of a main artery of business. In the eastern, the middle and the western states he has caused unnumbered miles upon miles of iron to cut across the unbroken front of the country, and there are few men in America to-day who have done more for railroading than he. If his name is not mentioned in connection with those of the great railroad kings of the east, it is all the more in his honor as he has been a promoter and builder of roads and not a wrecker or juggler with their stocks. His record has been such as to deserve more than a passing notice. What he is he has become by his own effort; what he has is the fruit of his own industry; and the honorable station he has gained is the result of a long life of application and toil. Like the majority of Cleveland's successful men, he is of New England descent, having first seen the light of day in Brattleboro, Vermont, on May 4, 1812. His father was a farmer, and to those who know the methods and habits of New England in those days it is needless to say that the son of a farmer early learned to labor sturdily, and to give to farm work such of his growing strength as was possible. At the same time he acquired a good common school education. At the age of twenty-one he went to Boston, without capital, but well equipped by nature for the facing and conquering of the difficulties in his path. Two years were spent there in a store, and then feeling the need of a wider field he went to western Pennsylvania and engaged in the construction of the Erie extension of the Pennsylvania canal. He next gave a similar service to the Ohio and Pennsylvania canal, and acquiring some means by these ventures, Mr. Chamberlain took a large contract on the Wabash and Erie canal. He was thus occupied until 1845, when he crossed over the line into Canada in search of new fields to conquer, and found them in extensive contracts for canal improvements along the St. Lawrence river. Here he was engaged for two years, and then went back to his native Ver-

mont and took the complete control of the construction of the Rutland & Burlington road, a line which connects the seaboard and the great lakes. He was at the same time interested in the construction of the Ogdensburgh & Rouse's Point road, since known as the Lake Champlain road. By this time he had gained a foothold and reputation that fitted him for even wider fields, and seeing an opening in the growing west, he came to Cleveland and marked an era in her commercial and material growth by engaging for the construction of the Cleveland & Pittsburgh road. Such were his push and energy that the line was open for business in 1851. During the next twenty-five years he was constantly engaged in the building of roads, or in their management, many of them being in the northwest. Only a glance at his more important operations is possible in the space allowed me here, although the complete story, should it ever come to be written, would fill a volume. He built the La Crosse & Milwaukee line, and operated it under lease or mortgage until his claims for its construction were satisfied. He constructed the Minnesota Central and was for some years its president. It was to aid in the building of roads by him that Minnesota issued its bonds in promised payment of the work done; and then, with a dishonesty and smallness hardly possible in a great and growing state, it repudiated the interest on these bonds through nearly a quarter of a century, although the roads which these bonds had been the means of building were all this time adding to the wealth of the state and aiding in its development. And at the same time the state had fortified itself against possible loss by taking possession of the land grants and franchises of the various roads. Mr. Chamberlain bided his time and lived in the hope that the tardy conscience of Minnesota would some time be aroused and justice be done him. That was partially the case, for in 1882 the state compromised by paying one-half of the obligation against it. Among his other operations in the northwest, he aided in the consolidation of the several lines comprising the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railroad, in which company he was a director and a heavy stockholder. In 1871 he again returned to the development of the railroad interests in his chosen home, and built the Lake Shore & Tuscarawas Valley line, which, after varying fortunes, was reorganized under the name of the Cleveland, Lorain & Wheeling road, and which has become a through line from West Virginia and Southern Ohio, touching the lake as a feeder for shipping and an outlet for coal, both at Cleveland and Black River, now known as Lorain. Mr. Chamberlain is president of this company and its



Engraved by Samuel Carson, Philad^a

Lawrence Perkins

chief stockholder. These railroad possessions, however, have by no means comprised all the points wherein he has touched the business interests of Cleveland. He has been a director in the Cleveland Iron Mining company, a director in the Mercantile National bank, president of the Cleveland Transportation company, and was the head of the private banking house of Chamberlain, Gorham & Perkins, which held a high and successful place in the business record of Cleveland, and was finally merged into the Merchants' National—now the Mercantile National—where Mr. Perkins took the position of cashier. These are not all the business interests which the subject of this sketch has held in Cleveland, but are enough to show the active part he has taken in the business circles of Cleveland.

In 1872, in answer to the determined demand of the leading members of the Democratic party in Cleveland, Mr. Chamberlain accepted a nomination to congress. He made a creditable campaign, and won great praise for the candor and modesty of his bearing, and, although not elected because of the long acknowledged Republican complexion of the district, he received a large and enthusiastic support, and showed himself the possessor of qualities that marked him as remarkably well equipped for the duties of the position for which he had been named.

Mr. Chamberlain is acknowledged by all who have an acquaintance with his business life as possessing great executive ability, the power to plan and the courage to act. His life shows that he possesses great industry. He is a fine judge of character, and has acquired a high degree of culture despite the active and stirring life he has been compelled to live. He is warm and sincere in his friendship, and modest and quiet in disposition. He has been a member of the Second Presbyterian church for over thirty years. He has the undivided respect of this community, and has done much for the growth and natural development of Cleveland. He was married in 1844 to Arabella Cochran of Crawford county, Pennsylvania, and of the two children who were born to this union, neither of them now live.

JACOB PERKINS.

Any discussion of the railroads and railroad interests of Cleveland that did not give full and generous credit to the Cleveland & Mahoning Valley road, which has been a reliable and steady friend to the interests of this city, and one of the chief factors of its growth, would not only be incomplete,

but unjust in the extreme. Some account of the road itself, and of the grit and faith that were put into it have already been given, and yet the story cannot be complete without telling at the same time that of one who pledged his fortune to it, gave it the best years of his manhood, and finally followed that gift by that of his life itself. Of course I refer to Jacob Perkins, who was not permitted to see to what proportions this child of his heart and brain finally grew. He was next to the youngest son of General Simon Perkins, whose name is met with in every turn and form of the colonial history of the Western Reserve. He was born in Warren, Trumbull county, on September 1, 1821. He early gave evidence of unusual mental strength and brightness, and possessed such gifts of character and untiring industry that even had he not been endowed with wealth from the fortune of his father, he would have won it by his own abilities, and gained for himself a position among men. He was a close reader and student in early youth. After the round of common schools at home, he attended an academy at Burton, Geauga county, under the tutorship of Professor Hitchcock, afterwards president of the Western Reserve college. He completed his preparations for college in a school in Connecticut, and entered Yale college in 1837. His career there was brilliant as a student, orator and writer for the college magazine, but his work was too much for his strength, and he was compelled to return home before graduating with his class. After one year's absence he returned and graduated with that of 1842. Returning again to Warren, he entered the office of his father, and gave himself to its extensive business, and on the death of General Perkins he was one of the executors of the estate, and gave some time to its settlement.

Mr. Perkins had a natural gift towards public life and was a speaker of acknowledged power and eloquence. Yet he did not seek political preferment, and it was not his own choice but the decision of the people that made him a member of the convention that framed the constitution of 1851, under which our state at present exists. His associates from his district were Judges Hitchcock and Ranney, and although he was next to the youngest member of the body, his influence was felt and his abilities universally acknowledged. He was also one of the Presidential electors on the Fremont ticket of 1856, was an early and fearless advocate of anti-slavery principles, and there is no telling to what extent he might have grown in public life, when we consider his ability and popularity in his county and district, had he not given his time and heart for so many years

to the enterprises to which his faith and fortune had been loyally pledged. He had seen, with that half-prophecy that men are sometimes allowed to possess, a busy railroad line extend to the metropolis of northern Ohio on the one side to that of western Pennsylvania on the other, passing Warren on its way, cutting through the coal fields of the Mahoning valley, and giving prosperity to every place it touched. We look to-day on this realized dream as an old-told story, but when Jacob Perkins saw it thirty-five years ago, there were thousands of dull visions about him whose hope and belief had no commercial level higher than that of the sluggish canal which lay below the now deserted and decaying warehouses of Warren. Despite the inert indifference of these, the sluggish criticisms of many, and the open opposition of many more, he went loyally to work on the projected line. I speak of him personally in this, because if it had not been for him the Mahoning road would not have been commenced then and might never have been built. The details of its charter and the commencement of its work have already been given. It was just after his return from the constitutional convention that Mr. Perkins devoted himself to the road, being one of its chief backers, its president, and financial manager. It was on his shoulders the chief burden fell. When the capitalists of Cleveland and Pittsburgh, the most of whom were interested in lines to which this would be a powerful rival, refused their aid, and when the men of means through the country it would open to a market and enrich, closed their pocketbooks and shook their heads in discouragement and doubt, Jacob Perkins fell back on his native grit and the Saxon energy that had come from his father, and determined to pledge all that he had or was to the completion of the enterprise. He met the directors, among whom were Frederick Kinsman and Charles Smith of Warren, David Tod of Youngstown, Judge Hitchcock of Painesville and Dudley Baldwin of Cleveland, and said to them that rather than see the road abandoned and come to naught, he would guarantee to personally make good the first one hundred thousand dollars loss if they would join with him and assume the risk that a continuation of the work would involve. They unanimously accepted the proposition, and the work went on.

Those who were near Mr. Perkins in those days say that the load was a heavy one, and the result was for a long time uncertain. The financial panic of 1857, and the years leading up to it, gave our land some of the darkest days she has ever seen. Financial disaster came on with all its force and fury, straining every nerve and muscle of new and uncertain

enterprises, and sending many an old one to the earth in hopeless ruin. The securities offered by the Cleveland & Mahoning line being practically unsaleable on the home markets, Mr. Perkins went to Europe to see what could be done with them, but met with no success. In 1856 the road was opened to Youngstown, and the development of that region and some returns for the long labor and risks began together. But Mr. Perkins was not long permitted to enjoy even a bright glimpse of the future, saying nothing of the great success and large returns of the line in after days. In October of 1850 he had been married to Elizabeth O. Tod, a daughter of Dr. J. I. Tod, of Milton, Trumbull county. Four children were born to them, only one of whom, Jacob B. Perkins of Cleveland, is now living. In 1856 Mr. Perkins moved to Cleveland, and a year later, after a married life that was as full of love and happiness as it had been short in duration and sad in its ending, the wife was laid away in the peace of eternal sleep. The bereaved husband had been so devoted to her during her illness, that the strain told on him with great severity, and hastened the end which his severe mental labors and heavy responsibilities had made inevitable. He was compelled to lay down his load and seek such benefit as might be in rest and other scenes. The winter of 1857-8 was passed in the south, but gave no relief. He failed gradually and surely, and no aid that money could purchase or the sympathy that loving brothers and friends could suggest was left untried, but death was master of them all. He died in Havana, Cuba, on January 12, 1859, and the half-grave, half-playful, but altogether pathetic remark made to a friend previous to his death, "If I die, you may inscribe on my tombstone, 'Died of the Mahoning Valley railroad,'" was more of a sombre fact than a light jest or passing fancy. He was brought home to Warren and tenderly laid beside his wife in the quiet Woodland cemetery that his generosity had greatly assisted in purchasing and beautifying and dedicating to the perpetual rest of the dead of his native town. His best monument is in his noble character as a man and in the great enterprise he made the work of his life, and his memory is kept alive in the public spirit, enterprise and liberality of his son.

In touching thus on the railroad part of Jacob Perkins' life, I have not had opportunity to go into the other works in which he was engaged. He often spoke in public when occasion demanded, and was a man of education and culture. He was one of the best friends Western Reserve college ever had, and it was at his suggestion that the present permanent

fund was created, himself and his brothers making the first donation thereto. The cause of education was ever near to his heart, and all through his busiest days of manhood he kept up his studies and readings, and turned to his books as a recreation whenever time would allow. His character was firmly grounded in honesty, and a high sense of honor marked his dealings with men. He was courteous and kind in manner, and those who were the closest to him speak most highly in his praise and the most deeply regret his removal from active life in manhood's prime.

J. H. KENNEDY.

THE WESTERN PURITAN.

Historic sympathy has become a great moulding force in our modern life. Nothing in intellectual growth to-day is more manifest than the development of the historic sense and sentiment—the tendency to historic philosophy. The inductive methods of thought—the best gift of science to this age—are being wonderfully applied in the field of human action and human phenomena. The modern historian is no longer the plodding chronicler, simply running the chain of narrative across the arid plain of human annals. He ascends an eminence where he holds in survey the whole race as a unit. History is, therefore, ceasing to be merely annalistic—ceasing to be merely national—and is becoming the science of civilization. Historical thought is being massed in far-reaching, vast, century-spanning generalizations.

In no country has the revival of history been so sudden and marked as in America—in no other locality as in the older west. The causes of this revival with us are not far to seek. We have completed our first cycle, have passed the first invisible milestone set in the pathway of history; we have added the first unit in the problem of existence—our first century has been completed. We have established the fact of self-government. We have come to the period of national retrospection, and the American mind is busy with its past. Fortunate for our country is it that, in seeking its genesis, we do not grope amid the shadows and myths of tradition. We possess a complete volume of written history. Measuring progress in great epochs, celebrating the nativity of peoples and institutions, is a

sure way to inculcate knowledge of the past. We have passed the centennial of national independence, we approach the centennial of constitutional government; and to us these mighty anniversaries should be mounts of transfiguration, on which lofty heights we view our glorified country clad in the shining garments of Justice, Freedom and Peace.

It is emphatically an era of retrospection in this older west. The generations which have gone out from us into the farther west are engaged in the sublime work of making government, law and history on the plains and prairies, the peaks and slopes of the great continental spaces and ranges, in the surging and seething activities of giant industrial forces. We linger here on this peaceful shore, whence they have launched, noting the wave marks of time, picking up shells and pebbles among the wreckage, pointing to the vanishing footprints in the sands.

No better sign of the historical habit and activity is found, than in the fact of the innumerable associations and joint endeavors to garner up the materials of our history.

History, scientifically considered, is governed by the uniform and continuing operation of law. The best developments of this science prove the enduring vitality and tenacity of certain ideas and habits of thought. To trace the fortunes of these more lasting opinions, or mental and moral habits, through many years and almost endless wanderings, changes and modifications, is a task as difficult as it is interesting and profitable. The presence and identity of such mental and moral habits must be proved from data always confused and multifarious, often elusive, entangled and contradictory. It may be said, in fact, that such efforts rise no higher than speculation, because absolute demonstration is impossible. Such hypotheses must rest on moral evidence alone. But in English history there is one countervailing circumstance which tends to render the task less difficult; this circumstance is the vitality and tenacity of intellectual and moral biases and modes of thought in the Anglo-Saxon mind.

It has become quite the fashion to caricature the Puritan by magnifying some fantastic accidents of his character, not essential but due largely to the spirit and temper of his time. He stands upon the canvas of criticism a sombre, ungraceful figure, with the hard ungenial face of austerity, and a heart full of the cold zeal of fanaticism. In the unfriendly light of modern letters, we see in him only the narrow and arrogant bigot of the seventeenth century. To modern eyes he stands by the wayside of history a false prophet, lifting up his harsh, censorious voice of warning and denouncing

upon the world a woe that never came. He stands as the sign and symbol of all the narrow asceticism of a hardened, petrified faith. In the religious fanatic we are prone to lose sight of his masterful work and influence in the domain of civil and political liberty. We sometimes forget even the fanatical heroism in which the rhetoric of a Macaulay paints him. Let us recall the vivid portraiture by the eminent historian, as it illustrates the strong coloring on the religious side of the Puritan character prevalent in literature. He says:

The Puritans were men whose minds had derived a peculiar character from the daily contemplation of superior beings and eternal interests. Not content with acknowledging in general terms an overruling Providence, they habitually ascribed every event to the will of the Great Being, for whose power nothing was too vast, for whose inspection nothing was too minute. To know him, to serve him, to enjoy him, was with them the great end of existence. They rejected with contempt the ceremonious homage which other sects substituted for the pure worship of the soul. Instead of catching occasional glimpses of the deity through an obscuring veil, they aspired to gaze full on his intolerable brightness, and commune with him face to face. Hence originated their contempt for all terrestrial distinctions. The difference between the greatest and the meanest of mankind seemed to vanish, when compared with the boundless interval which separated the whole race from him on whom their eyes were constantly fixed. They recognized no title to superiority but his favor; and confident of that favor they despised all the accomplishments and all the dignities of the world. If they were unacquainted with the works of philosophers and poets, they were deeply read in the oracles of God. If their names were not found in the registry of heralds, they were recorded in the Book of Life.

It is but the picture of the fierce and rugged prophet of the desert and the wilderness. It is not the typical Puritan who ever walked the earth and not above it; whose head was not always among the stars; who was not always prostrate in the ecstasy of devotions. The real Puritan did not despise worldly wisdom nor secular knowledge. The leading pilgrims of the *Mayflower* had taken their degree at Cambridge. Brewster had sounded all the depths and shoals of diplomacy, and in no Puritan who has left an impress upon the page of history was there lacking the strong sense for affairs—the dominance of practical wisdom. Puritanism has blessed the world most in the field of politics and government. As a political reformer the Puritan has wrought his most enduring work. He was the first reformer who founded all political rights, obligations and duties on the enlightened conscience of religion. "Puritanism," says DeTocqueville, "was not merely a religious doctrine, but it corresponded in many points with the most democratic and republican theories." Again he says, "Anglo-American civilization in its true light is the combined result of two distinct elements, both the product of Puritanism, the spirit of religion and the spirit of liberty." Thus we see that the surest muniments of our political liberties, the best institu-

tions of our civil freedom, are gifts of the political Puritan. He was the son of that morning of hope which flushed, in purple dawn, the sky of England at the close of the reign of Elizabeth. He was the best gift of the Renaissance. He was the firstborn of the grandest epoch in human history.

Green, the historian, thus gathers up, in sublime language, the spirit of the times which gave him birth :

A new social fabric was thus growing up on the wreck of feudal England. New influence was telling on its development. The immense advance of the people as a whole in knowledge and intelligence throughout the reign of Elizabeth was in itself a revolution. The hold of tradition, the unquestioning awe, which formed the main strength of the Tudor throne, had been sapped and weakened by the intellectual activity of the Renaissance, by its endless questionings, its historic research, its philosophic skepticism. Writers and statesmen were alike discussing the claims of government and the wisest and most lasting forms of rule. The nation was learning to rely on itself, to believe in its own strength and vigor, to crave for a share in the guidance of its own life. His conflict with the two great temporal powers of Christendom had roused in every Englishman a sense of supreme manhood which told, however slowly, on his attitude toward the crown.

It is the majestic march of this conserving moral force in human progress which we note in its western development. True, the march takes us to the dungeon, the fagot, the stake. Ther hythm of its foot falls is timed by human groans. It alone of all that is lurid in human passion and superstition was left to light up the sky of America with the awful fires of persecution. But it has marched past all these. It contained the saving, recuperative energy to shake off the barbarisms of the past; and to-day modern Puritanism is the one political sentiment that has filled society with a dignified sense of the individual man, and planted the deepest conviction of the boundless capabilities of the human soul.

The political doctrines of New England are so plastic as to render them useful under divers and varying conditions. Those which have become our inheritance have been thrice transplanted. We are heirs to a pioneer Puritanism thrice refined—to Plymouth in 1620, from Cape Cod to the Connecticut river in 1630, and to this place two hundred and seventy years later.

We stand remarkably related to the Puritan movement in another sense. The Connecticut Western Reserve is the last home of colonized Puritanism. In individuals and families it has been carried into the Mississippi valley and beyond it up the slopes of the Rockies and down the western slopes, but in no other locality of the west does its organizing quality appear, in no other place has its social flavor so permeated, as here upon this Western Reserve. It was actually colonized here. The settle-

ment of northeastern Ohio at the beginning of this century was unprecedented. It was not the straggling immigration of a few families; it was the veritable exodus of a colony.

The grand elements of Puritan civilization are Land, Law and Liberty. These fundamental interests, as they found lodgement in the settlement and development in the growth of the Western Reserve, are worthy of our consideration.

The first great epoch in modern history was the conjunction of the Roman world and the Teutonic races, opening the way for the spread of Christianity. The most valuable contributions of the Teutonic people to this common stock were their customs and institutions of ownership in land, and the domestic relations. The rise of the communal idea in the distribution and cultivation of land is due in part to the headship of the chieftain or patriarch, and in part to the necessity for mutual defence and protection. The growth of population was necessarily in the form of the village community. The Germanic tribes became dwellers in villages. The outlying lands, so far as arable, were distributed for temporary tillage by allotment each year. Thus the "arable mark" was the typical holding of land for cultivation before feudalism was established in Europe. This jural conception, affecting rights in land, never lost its hold in the Teutonic races, and found its way into the Anglo-Saxon mind; and thus into the colonizing economy of the Englishmen in the sixteenth century.

It would be interesting to trace the influence of Teutonic ideas upon the Puritan exiles during their sojourn in the low countries. Among them the university men—the leaders—at Leyden, the seat of learning, came under the enlightened sway of Grotius, Episcopius and other leaders of legal and theological thought. We laud the democratic spirit of the Pilgrims, and vauntingly claim that free self-government was born on board the *Mayflower*. But they were but the "heirs of all the ages." The notion of a legal corporate community was the heritage of the Renaissance. Nothing was more natural than that the idea of corporate independence should spring out of the triumphant struggle against ecclesiastical intolerance. We forget also that these men sailed out into the unknown, under the obligations of a commercial covenant with the "Merchant Adventurers" of London. They were bound, therefore, in a common enterprise. What more natural than the sentiment of community. The colony of Plymouth, therefore, existed before the *Mayflower* weighed anchor at Southampton,

They were not, however, commercial adventurers. With true Anglo-Saxon instinct, on landing they turned to the business of tillage.

In the year 1623, at Plymouth, in New England, it was found that longer to continue to labor on the joint stock plan but led to discontent, injustice and confusion. In no country, and in no considerable period of the world's history, have agricultural instincts remained based upon the communal idea. Individual ownership, by a more or less permanent tenure, has ever been the tendency in landed property. So at Plymouth there sprang into new life in America the Teutonic system of land cultivation. Allotments of land were made to each individual to cultivate on his own account. The persuasion of the time, that a colony in a new country could only exist as the dependency of a corporation, with a community of goods in its productions, ceased to exist in America. The true pioneers of English settlement in the west, at the beginning of this century, were great land corporations. The Ohio company in southern, and the Connecticut company in northeastern Ohio, opened the wilderness of the Northwest Territory to the advancing armies of civilization. They were not giant monopolies. They placed their lands in market, and became at once the conservators of that mode of land-holding which is ever essential to social and political equality, the right and dignity of individual ownership. No types of civilization are more enduring than those connected with real estate. The earliest and best symbols of western growth are the Gunter's chain and the woodman's ax. If we would follow the most majestic march of peaceful conquest, we must follow the sturdy knights of the sextent and the theodolite; if we would find the lines upon which empires move and states are builded, we must study their maps and surveys. The little company which landed at the mouth of the Cuyahoga on the afternoon of July 22, 1796, was a band of New England surveyors. They brought with them from the far off Saxon forests, through a line of Puritan colonists, the idea of the "arable mark" and the "village community." On the destiny of civil freedom and social equality, with us, we can never overestimate the influence of the custom of individual land-holding, which was a distinctive achievement and institution of our yeoman Puritan ancestry.

Another survival of Puritan character, leavening our social life to-day, is the dominant influence of the spirit of legalism, which was his conspicuous characteristic. His excessive affectation of Hebraism has met the condemnation of these later times. His idea of government too closely

conformed to the model of Jewish theocracy. He made too small a distinction between the domain of personal morality and the field of public law and legislation. He denounced penalties, too awful and severe, against personal vices. He thought foolishly to stem the tide of immorality with the barriers of legislation. Such is the tenor of adverse criticism against this rather stern, unlovely side of Puritanism. In the light of better teaching upon the principles of government, it is doubtless true he laid too great stress upon the efficacy of legal sanctions and coercion of moral conduct. But we should remember that with a democratic people the fountains of law and justice must necessarily be sweetened with its flavor of morality; that law must be the impulse of the popular conscience as well as the expression of the public will. We should remember that in a popular government law is not only the expression of public opinion, but is a powerful educational stimulant, reacting upon the moral conceptions of the people. The domain of public law and private morality should not be far sundered if we would form safe habits and right ideas in the practice of self-government.

The Puritan inculcated a righteous sense of justice. He drew his legal inspirations from that ancient people whose legal code was graven on tables of stone. He may have been too ready to condemn the accused. And this same bias in the administration of public justice may have left its traces in this community. It is said that one of our leading criminal advocates in Ohio a short time ago was engaged on the defense in a noted case of homicide occurring in our midst. When asked the chances for his client, he said that if the trial were progressing elsewhere, away from the heart of the Western Reserve, he could acquit his client. "But," said he, "the accused is at the hard, unmerciful bar of those Puritans, who have reversed the gracious theory of the common law that every man is presumed to be innocent until proven guilty—and the result is doubtful." But while we laugh at that quaint, fantastic and harsh asceticism which fulminated ponderous statutes against minute and trivial offenses, we should never forget that to this grand spirit of Hebraism—to that lofty ideal of the Puritan fathers who would fain have made the world a very city of God—we owe the incalculable blessing of that conserving moral force springing from the Bible which finds its way into all the currents of our civil and social life.

I have said that "New Connecticut" or the Western Reserve is the last Puritan colony. No community in the west is so marked by the

characteristics of the Puritan—not simply in the personal traits of character, but in the wider social life and relation. We are enveloped by a peculiar social atmosphere, and it instills a peculiar flavor into our social life. In our habits of intercourse and manners we are unconsciously tempered with that seclusive reserve and conservatism which have come down to us from our ancestors, who had gained the spirit of clannish self-reliance from the hard experiences of exile life with strangers or cautious reticence among unfriendly countrymen. Western Puritanism is in no inconsiderable degree the product of the conditions of its environment and surroundings. The French pioneer who entered this ancient wooded wilderness with the flavor of mediæval chivalry, bearing the sword and the crucifix, was pushed forward by the reviving commercial spirit, and came to trade. He established posts—half military, half commercial—but never became a settler. Even in his temporary contacts with the influences of the forest, he largely succumbed and lost his Gaelic identity. Not so with the more stolid, unimpressible nature of the Englishman. He presented more resistance, and yielded more slowly to the modifying and moulding forces around him. But they found their way at last to the springs of his life and character, and modified, altered, but never wholly transformed him. It is by no means surprising that we have come to lay much stress on the power of environment in giving tone and bias to a people or community. The life of the pioneer was a continuous struggle of hand, mind and heart, against all-surrounding relentless nature. How man sinks and perishes before the force, grand and noble though it be, of colossal, unclaimed, trackless nature! The forests of South America, covering the fairest portions of the globe, and spreading over half the continent, have held the civilization of Spain at bay for more than three hundred years. "In New England"—the birthplace of our pioneer—"nature gave almost nothing, and all that men obtained had to be won by unflinching and incessant toil. Not wealth and prosperity merely, but a bare subsistence had to be wrung from a niggardly soil, and from the cold and stormy sea which washed its jagged cliffs."

The earliest pioneers of Ohio were in constant contact and frequent struggles with the tribes of that weird race of men, specimens of which are now placed on exhibition with wild animals for the wonderment of our youth. I mean that disinherited race, of whom there is nothing left with us save the strange music of their names, mingling with the names

of England and France on the hills and rivers of this their ancient heritage. They were the pioneers of an earlier age, and we may seem no more than they to the later heirs of future ages. A distinguished writer gives us the following picture of the North American Indian :

His senses were acute ; he was swift of foot ; he never domesticated an animal for milk or food. By the labor of his general drudge, the squaw, he gave the earth a precarious tillage. He had no feeling, no cheerfulness, no sense of the comic. His joy always became frenzy. He had passions which were those of the maniac ; jealous, envious, vindictive and unforgiving to the last degree. A master of dissembling when inspired by deep revenge, without genuine courage, stratagems, stealth and ambush were his forte. He was devoid of pity. His swift tomahawk made no distinction between the strong arm of a foe and helplessness of old age and infancy. Intrepid under privations and suffering, it was not the intrepidity of heroism, but of indomitable pride and stern rigidity of nature. His whole education was to bid grim defiance to his foes. Quick to perceive and slow to reason ; silent, taciturn and deliberate, but not reflective, with oratory pitched in a high key of grand and pompous magniloquence, he sometimes moved by grand imagery and pathetic appeal.

Such was this stoic of the woods and wigwam. It is difficult to estimate the influence of this human animal as an educator upon the pioneer in his life in the forest. The success of the Puritan in his dealings and relations with the Aborigines was most remarkable. He was the only English colonist who ever inspired either awe or confidence in the North American savage. Better than the peace-loving Quaker with Penn, was the stern, prompt justice and inflexible honesty of Standish and his men at Plymouth, in gaining the respect of the red man. The same elements of character gained the mastery on the Cuyahoga over the native savage. There was a shrewd sagacity, a mixture of Puritan rigor and steady kindness, which saved the settlement at Cleveland from the savage barbarities visited upon other settlements ; and while the Indian held permanent ground just west of the river, and his contact with the pioneers was close and constant, he was held in wholesome subordination to the same blood that had mastered "Squanto" and Massasoit into peaceful and helpful subjection.

Colonial Puritanism underwent a great change in consequence of the minor social results following the War for Independence. The relation of the Revolutionary struggle to the settlement of Ohio has never received, as I believe, the notice its importance and influence demand. It is my purpose here simply to point to a few of the secondary and less obvious effects of the war, in the qualities of individual manners and character they produced.

Not alone in the southern part of Ohio, but on our own Western Reserve, the reflections from the watchfires of the great war continued long

to glow upon the hearths and in the hearts of the settlers. This military discipline and experience through which many of them had passed gave a peculiar flavor and tone to the habits of these early pioneers. The Anglo-Saxon of all races is most susceptible of irradicable impressions and biases from continued occupations. The spirit of *militarism*, dominating the citizen soldier, is a healthful educator toward the prompt and efficient observance of public duties. The patriotism of the Puritan was the result of his religious fervor. It was the narrow patriotism of the Hebrew. It required a struggle for purely political rights in the fierce, fiery baptisms of war, that his love of country might be secularized and broadened. Says Lecky :

War is the great school of heroism. It familiarizes the mind with the idea of noble actions performed under the influence of honor and enthusiasm. It elicits, in the highest degree, strength of character, accustoms men to the abnegation needed for simultaneous action, compels them to repress their fears and establish a firm control over their affections. It leads them to subordinate their personal wishes to the interests of society.

The Revolution was a great school for the inculcation of this sentiment of patriotism. It infused into the conservative veins of the staid Englishman the ardent blood of restless adventure. This chivalrous spirit thus inherited produced a race of pioneers who were ever faithful in the discharge of civil or military duty. In a day when party fealty bound him by a slight tenure he never failed in his conscientious regard for the public welfare, nor to cast his ballot at each recurring election. No class of men ever placed a higher value on the rights and privileges of our common citizenship. The discipline of the camp, the march, the field, filled him with a fortitude, hardihood and command of expedients, which made it comparatively easy for him to adjust himself to his new condition of life. In a large measure the Puritan of New England inherited these qualities from the Cromwells and Hampdens of the commonwealth ; but in the colonial struggle they were taught the great lesson of the value of civil liberty for its own sake.

The absence of intermediate governmental agencies and corporate intervention between the pioneer and his social duty, was an important circumstance in the strengthening and development of individual character. He did nothing by proxy. He could lay the kindly offices of benevolence upon no "Board of Organized Charities," as can we. Did a sick or wounded settler seek his cabin, that cabin must be the hospital, and the pioneer must be the nurse. While his wants were few and simple, yet his necessities gave great diversity to his employments. He often

became a tradesman, a farmer, a hunter and a mechanic upon his own clearing. He had no trouble with the "labor problem." He neither sought nor expected aid from any government nor association in his struggle with nature. All he wanted was an equality of chances in the pursuit of happiness. These are the factors of strong character. These are some of the influences of situation which tended to modify, mould anew and soften somewhat the asperities of the Puritan pioneer.

The religious and political opinions of men at the close of the last century were greatly colored and affected by the ideas born of the French revolution. We do not at this distance rightly appreciate the force upon men of the new habits and modes of thought which found their way to America out of this great historic convulsion. No spirit has more reacted upon Puritanism than the spirit which arose out of this great upheaval. The political and religious doctrines of this grand epoch mingled with the nascent elements of society in these western wilds. They turned men for the time from the formalities and outward observances of religion. It was so with the rudiments of social growth even in the Puritan settlement of Cleveland. History records the fact that infidelity achieved an early and strong hold among the settlers. It was open and aggressive. It is said that in ribald mocking the effigy of Jesus was shockingly paraded in the new streets of the village. It was many years before any organized religious work found favor here; and by many years the distillery antedated the church. The first church edifice built here was not the work of Puritan nonconformists, but was for an Episcopal parish.

The grandest product of American civilization is personal character. The lives of three typical Americans, born within four hundred miles of this western city, have elicited the world's homage more than all other great men of the century—Lincoln, Garfield and Grant. Bestow the full and justest meed of praise on all their great achievements, and yet each, in his own distinctive manhood and character, rises infinitely higher than all his works. If we take the last analysis, we shall find that nearly all the conditions which made these great lives possible sprang directly out of the institutions and ideas of western Puritanism.

We need to turn oftener to the Puritan ideals of life to elevate the moral tone of society. Perhaps we need no less of science, but certainly more of sincerity. We should get more of the Puritanical hatred of shams and falsity in life and manners. The one supreme ingredient to mingle in our

western brusqueness and activity is more New England honesty. We look to the past for men of giant mold.

Our honorable minister at the court of St. James once said in fitting phrase:

There is something easier to state than to describe in the influence of the time upon the quality of men produced in the beginning of a state. It is akin to what is seen in some agricultural products, which are better in the virgin soil than any cultivation can ever make them afterwards. Whether it is in the vigor and freshness which attend the youth of a state, like the youth of a life—or whether such emergencies bring to the surface and into conspicuity a higher order of men—whatever the reason may be, the fact remains, the fathers are larger than the children.

And yet he adds this hopeful, optimistic sentence:

As change is the condition in life, so compensation is an unfailing condition of change. Whatever time takes away it compensates in what it brings. Much that is precious perishes as it passes; but with new life comes always new beneficence.

I summarize the following as the grand gifts of Puritanism to our modern social life:

First. Reverence for moral law.

Second. The imminence and power of the Deity.

Third. The dignity and worth of the individual.

Fourth. The eternal permanence of character.

I know that these teachings of the despised Puritans do not enter forcefully the currents of modern thought. But it should never be forgotten that the *Mayflower* was freighted with the best fruitage of the Protestant reformation. It should never be forgotten, as said by a quaint old Puritan, "God sifted all England that he might send choice grain into this wilderness." May that "choice grain" never lose its vital power to germinate and grow! No truer tribute of tongue or pen to the Puritan was ever offered than what follows from the eloquent New Yorker already quoted:

Unchanged as the eternal sky above us is the moral law which they revered. Unfailing as the sure succession of the seasons, its operations in the affairs of men. All the prosperity—the power—the permanence of the republic—more than ever the pride of the children—more than ever the hope of mankind—rests in obedience to the unchanged and unchangeable law. The essence of the father's faith is still the elixir of the children's life; and should that faith decay—should the unconsciousness of a divine energy underlying human society, manifest in just and equal laws, and, humanely ordering individual relations disappear, the murmur of the ocean rising and falling upon Plymouth Rock would be the endless lament of nature over the baffled hopes of men.

The mission of the pioneer in our civic and social economy is eternal. The border-line between the pursuit and the achievement is ever carried forward by all our diversified currents of life. Into the ways of commerce—into the ministries of truth and justice—before the forge of industry—on

the farm and into the home—let us carry everywhere the spirit of the true pioneer! Move on with the great social energies of the Puritan—the home—the school—the church. Man in the world—God in the universe—human character forever! To these ends work all the historic forces of all the ages.

HENRY C. WHITE.

WEISER'S MISSION TO THE OHIO.

One of the earliest expeditions to the Ohio Indians, of which we have any definite knowledge, was that of Conrad Weiser, in the summer of 1748. Weiser was sent by the government of Pennsylvania with a present of goods of considerable value. He was accompanied by George Croghan, a trader, who was well acquainted in the Indian country and "the best roads to Ohio." In his "Instructions" from the government, Weiser is directed as follows:

You are to use the utmost diligence to acquire a perfect knowledge of the number, situation, disposition and strength of all the Indians in or near those parts, whether they be friends, neutrals or enemies, and be very particular in knowing the temper and influence of the tribes of Indians who send deputies to receive you; for by the knowledge of these matters you are to regulate the distribution of the goods which are to be divided amongst them in as equal and just a manner as possible, that all may go away satisfied, and none receive the least cause of disgust at any undue preference given to others.

Conrad Weiser was a German by birth, and was at this time in his fifty-second year. In 1710 his father emigrated to America, and settled at Schoharie, in New York. Here the family was frequently visited by a Mohawk chief named Quagnant, and at the solicitation of this chief young Conrad went into the Mohawk country, where he devoted himself to learning the language of the Indians. In 1729 he married and moved to Berks county, Pennsylvania. He was frequently employed by the colonial authorities as interpreter, agent, etc., for the Indians. During the French and Indian war Weiser was colonel of a regiment of Pennsylvania volunteers. After a busy and useful life he died in June, 1760.

Weiser, upon the occasion above described, came over into the Indian country by the Kiskiminetas route. His course from his starting point in Berks county was almost due west by the Black Log sleeping place, and the Standing Stone to the ancient settlement at Franks-

town, at the foot of the mountains, in Blair county. The distances, as he gives them in his itinerary, foot up considerably more than the distance measured in a straight line, but perhaps not more than the tortuous windings of what were considered "the best roads" required. At Frankstown he says he "saw no houses or cabin." We do not understand this; perhaps the place had been destroyed or abandoned, or perhaps he did not enter the settlement itself, but came only into the neighborhood of it.* At this point he made a detour to the right, "crossed the Alleghany hills," no doubt by the Kittanning path, and at the distance of sixteen miles from Frankstown reached a point called "the Clear Fields," where he remained over night. This place was in the northeastern part of Cambria county, in the township that is still called Clearfield. Here he turned, and traveling a little west of south, he came that day, August 23, to the "Showonese cabbins." This was the point where Johnstown now stands. It is well known that a Shawanese village, afterwards called Kekkeknepalin, occupied this spot.

From the Shawanese cabins Weiser proceeded northwest a distance of fifty-two miles to "Ten Mile lick," as he calls it. This was in the neighborhood of the present village of Clarksburg, Indiana county. From here, next day, he traveled about due west, crossed the Kiskiminetas near its mouth and came to the Ohio, as he calls it, meaning the Allegheny, twenty-six miles from his starting place in the morning. Here he hired a canoe for one thousand black wampum, to convey himself and Croghan to Logstown. The horses were tired, and were to come afterwards.

The point on the Allegheny where they took the water was the old Shawanese town, commonly called Chartier's town. Peter Chartier was a French-Indian half-breed, a very stirring spirit and well-known character in the western country in those times. In 1745 he went to the Wabash country, and the Indian town at or near the mouth of Buffalo creek, on the Allegheny, was abandoned; hence it was sometimes called the "Old Showonese town," and sometimes "Chartier's town" or "Chartier's Old town." Weiser says it was "above sixty miles by water" from Logstown; but in this he was in error, as the distance was not more than fifty miles at the farthest. The first evening after leaving the old Shawanese

* This old town occupied about the same site as the modern Frankstown in Blair county. "It was named after an old German Indian trader named Stephen Franks, who lived contemporaneously with old Hart, and whose post was at this old Indian town."—Jones' *Juniata Valley*, p. 324.

town they came to a Delaware village, where the Indians treated them very kindly. Next day they set off in the morning early. They dined, he says, in a Seneca town, in the house of an old Seneca woman, who reigned "with great authority." This place was Shannopin's town, which stood on the left bank of the Allegheny, about two miles above the forks of the Ohio, within the present limits of Pittsburgh. The "old Seneca woman" was doubtless Queen Aliquippa, a personage not unknown to early local fame. The evening of the same day Weiser arrived at Logstown, which was the objective point of his journey.

Logstown was situated on the right bank of the Ohio, at a distance of eighteen and a half miles from the point at Pittsburgh.* It was an important Indian town, and is of frequent mention in the annals of the last century. At the time of which we write it consisted of some sixty or seventy cabins, inhabited by a number of confederated tribes—Senecas, Shawanese, Delawares, Wyandotts, etc. The year previous to this time a delegation from the Indian tribes on the Ohio had requested of the government of Pennsylvania that an agent should be sent to them at Logstown for the purpose of holding a council. It was in pursuance of this request that Weiser had now come. He had been here but a few days when he received a message from Coscosky, an Indian town on the Big Beaver river at no great distance, desiring him to hold the council in their town; but very much to the gratification of the inhabitants of Logstown, he refused to hold the council at any other place than the latter town.

The horses that carried the goods had preceded Weiser, but he overtook them at Frankstown, as they had been delayed by the illness of some of the men. The goods were brought along but slowly. At the Shawanese cabins Weiser met twenty of Croghan's horses on the way to convey the goods from Frankstown. On the second day after Weiser's arrival at Logstown the Indians set off in their canoes, very cheerily no doubt, to bring in the goods. Weiser expected that they would be at Chartier's town by the time the canoes would get there; but they had not come. September 11 the goods had not yet arrived, and Weiser began to be uneasy, as he feared that they might have fallen into the hands of enemies. He desired the Indians to send some of their young men out to meet the people with the goods, and not to come back until they had intelligence of them, if they had to go all the way to Frankstown, where

* 'Morse's American Geography,' p. 175. Edition of 1796.

he had last seen them. Accordingly, two Indians and a white man were sent on this expedition, but they failed to obey orders, as in two days they were back, having been only as far as Chartier's town and having seen nothing of the goods. Two days afterwards, however, the goods arrived, very much to the relief of Weiser and the satisfaction of the red men. They had been detained on account of the floods in the creeks, and because one of the sick men had to be sent back from Frankstown to the settlements.

Weiser being informed that the Wyandotts and Delawares were contemplating a return to the French, sent a messenger to the Delawares at Beaver creek with a string of wampum, to learn the truth of the matter. The Delawares returned him a string of wampum, with the assurance that the report was false. He then held a council with the chiefs of the Wyandotts and inquired into their number, their reasons for abandoning the French, what correspondence they had with the Six Nations, etc. "They informed me," he says, "their coming away from the French was because of the hard usage they received from them; that they would always get their young men to go to war against the enemies, and would use them as their own people, that is, like slaves; and their goods were so dear that they (the Indians) could not buy them; that there were one hundred fighting men that came over to join the English, seventy were left behind at another town a good distance off, and they hoped they would follow them; that they had a very good correspondence with the Six Nations for many years, and were one people with them; that they could wish the Six Nations would act more briskly against the French; that above fifty years ago they made a treaty of friendship with the governor of New York at Albany; and they showed me a large belt of wampum they received there from the said governor, as from the king of Great Britain. The belt was twenty-five grains wide and two hundred and sixty-five long, very curiously wrought. There were seven images of men holding one another by the hand—the first signifying the governor of New York, or rather, as they said, the king of Great Britain; the second, the Mohawks; the third, the Oneidas; the fourth, the Cajugas; the fifth, the Onondagers; the sixth, the Senecas; the seventh, the Owandats; and two rows of black wampum under their feet, through the whole length of the belt, to signify the road from Albany through the Five Nations to the Owandats; that six years ago they had sent deputies with the same belt to Albany to renew the friendship."

At the conclusion of the council, Weiser treated the assembled chiefs to a quart of whiskey and a roll of tobacco. The Indian seems always to have had a lively idea of his greatest needs, and the white man was peculiarly felicitous in ministering to them. The deputies present from the various tribes on the waters of the Ohio handed in the numbers of their fighting men. They were indicated by bundles of little sticks tied up, and varied from one hundred and sixty-five to fifteen. The numbers footed up seven hundred and eighty-nine.

But, the goods having arrived, the neighboring Indians were sent for again, and on the seventeenth of September a general council was held. An address was made to the Indians by Weiser, in which he explained to them why it was that the government had sent out the goods instead of the weapons which had been promised; it was because "the king of Great Britain and the French king had agreed upon a cessation of arms for six months, and that a peace was very likely to follow." He also warned them of the deceitfulness of "a French peace;" assured them that the present which he had brought was intended "to strengthen the chain of friendship" between the English and the Indians; gave them some good advice on general principles, and devoted considerable attention to the liquor traffic among them. "You have of late made frequent complaints against the traders bringing so much rum to your town," he said, "and desire it might be stopped; and your brethren, the president and council, made an act accordingly and put a stop to it, and no trader was to bring any rum or strong drink liquor to your towns. But it seems it is out of your brethren's power to stop it entirely. You send down your own skins by the traders to buy rum for you. You go yourselves and fetch horse-loads of strong liquors; only the other day an Indian came to this town out of Maryland with three horse-loads of liquor; so that it appears you love it so well that you cannot be without it. You know very well that the country near the endless mountains affords strong liquor, and the moment the traders buy it they are gone out of the inhabited parts and are traveling to this place without being discovered; besides this, you never agree about it; one will have it, the other wont (though very few); a third says he will have it cheaper; this last, we believe, is spoken from your hearts." Upon this hit his auditors laughed. He then attempted to fix a price for which liquor should be sold. "If a trader offers to sell whiskey to you, and will not let you have it at that price," he says, "you may take it from him and drink it for nothing."

And we may be sure the Indian never stood out for a second invitation. The council being ended, the goods were divided into shares, and so distributed as to give the Indians "great satisfaction."

Two days afterwards several Indians came as deputies to Weiser's lodging, to return the thanks of the red men for his kindness. "Our brethren have indeed tied our hearts to theirs," they say; "we at present can but return thanks with an empty hand till another opportunity serves to do it sufficiently." They also informed him that they often had occasion to send messengers to Indian towns and nations on business of the tribes, and that they had nothing with which to recompense the messengers or to get wampum. "I had saved a piece of strand," says Weiser, "and half barrel of powder, one hundred pounds of lead, ten shirts, six knives and one pound of vermillion, and gave it to them for the aforesaid use. They returned many thanks and were mightily pleased."

On the nineteenth of September, Weiser set out on his return, and ten days later we find him at Pennsburg, in Cumberland county, writing out the report of his mission,

T. J. CHAPMAN.



Magazine of Western History

Simon Perkins

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BIOGRAPHIC.

GENERAL SIMON PERKINS.

In the unbroken quiet of Warren's beautiful cemetery, surrounded by the graves of many who were dear to him, and under an urn on which is recorded in modest brevity the story of his life, lies an honored pioneer who left his impress on the times in which he lived, and who over two score years ago ended a career of extended usefulness. No biographer seems to have yet gathered his deeds into a fitting memorial, and in all that has been said and written of the pioneer days no due proportion of honor has been awarded him. The modesty that characterized his life seems to have been laid upon his memory. The meagreness of record that he left in any written statements about himself or his labors has made the preparation of this sketch a matter of some research, which is more than repaid in the rewarding glimpses I have been given of a character that for nearly fifty years of manhood stood the hard tests of pioneer life, and proved that it was of pure gold; and of a man who was of the highest usefulness to the community in which he had a part. I refer to Simon Perkins, who passed into eternal rest in the November days of 1844.

He was the descendant of one of the old Puritan families of New England, going back on his father's side to John Perkins, who came over with Roger Williams, in the ship *Lion*, in 1631. His mother traced her ancestry to William Douglas, a member of the Boston colony which founded New London, Connecticut. The grandfather of Simon Perkins on the paternal side was Dr. Joseph Perkins, a Yale graduate, in 1727, who commenced practice in his native town of Norwich, Connecticut, and became very eminent both in medicine and surgery. His son Simon owned a farm in the so-called "Perkins tract," in Lisbon, Connecticut. He was a captain in the troops furnished by his state for the revolutionary army, and died, on September 4, 1778, at home, but from the direct effects of camp dysentery, contracted while in the service. He married Olive Douglas of Plainfield, Connecticut, on February 25, 1768. Simon, the

subject of this sketch, was born September 17, 1771, at Lisbon. On the death of his father, which occurred when he was only seven years old, the care of the farm and a flour mill connected with it, and of the family, fell on the mother, who seemed by nature, home-training and Christian character, as thoroughly equipped for it as could be any woman who had not been compelled to give her mind and time to business. Simon, being the oldest son, naturally found much of her care and a large share of executive responsibility laid upon him as fast as he developed in years and strength to bear it, and it was thus that he was being trained in habits of self-reliance, in judgment and in the direction of others, when his comrades were in school or engaged in the sports of boyhood. Having a natural gift for mathematics, his attention was turned toward a profession for which there was a great demand in those days, when civilization was running its lines across unbroken forests, and the boundaries of states being defined in the unmeasured wilderness towards the west. Not much can be learned of his boyhood, as he was a man of deeds and not given to writing or telling about himself. He had a sufficient schooling to make his profession of surveyor a success, and his life proves that he made good use of all the facilities at his command. The records tell us that he was engaged in surveying wild lands in New York state, in 1795, when only twenty-four years of age. On the twenty-second of May in that year he left for Oswego, Tioga county, in that state, where he remained for three years, surveying the lands and looking after the interests of non-residents. He fulfilled these duties so well that on the formation of the Erie Land company he was appointed by the trustees to act as its general agent. He agreed to go to the far away Western Reserve, and to remain three months in examination of the company's land. A word as to that company's origin. I quote from a record among the papers of the late Joseph Perkins of Cleveland:

In anticipation of the first division of the land held by the trustees of the Connecticut Land company a few of the stockholders of that company living in the counties of New London and Windham, determined to unite the stock they held in the original land company, and form a smaller and somewhat similar association, and thereby, as they hoped, secure a more economical and judicious management of their lands.

In accordance with this decision, articles of incorporation were entered into at Norwich on December 11, 1797, and a deed of trust executed to Moses Cleaveland, Daniel L. Coit and Joseph Perkins, "to hold in trust for such proprietor or proprietors, his or their share in the Connecticut Western Reserve, whereon the Indian title is already extinguished and

which is not already disposed of, or to be disposed of by the directors of said Connecticut Land company, to be held in trust and disposed of by said trustees as directed and agreed in and by the following articles"—which then occur at some length. The engagement of the young Simon was made soon after the formation of the company, and in June of 1798 he left for the almost unknown land in which he was to make a name and fortune and do patriotic service for his country. So satisfactory was the fulfillment of his trust that, it may be said in passing, he continued the only agent of the company in Ohio until the final settlement and winding up of its affairs in 1831.

On the first trip he was accompanied by four men as laborers, the name of only one of them, James Pumpelly, occurring in any of the records I have been able to discover. Western New York was then an almost unbroken wilderness, which he courageously penetrated, and shipped his provisions and small stock of baggage on Cayuga lake, and made his way onward to Buffalo. There he obtained a batteau with which his way was made along the south shore of Lake Erie. It was in July before he finally landed on the Reserve at the mouth of Grand river, where the harbor of Fairport is now located. Moving back into the country some twelve miles, he established his camp in what is now Concord township, Lake county. The location is still pointed out by the patriotic sons of the early settlers as a spot of historic interest, and is yet called "Perkins' Camp." Only a few years ago it was honored by being chosen for the scene of a pioneer celebration. As soon as possible he gave attention to the mission on which he had been sent, exploring the country with a view to learning its capabilities and value, and in surveying he visited Cleveland, Youngstown and what was then called McIntosh, but is now Beaver, Pennsylvania. In October he started on his return trip to Connecticut. Before going he paid all the expenses of the summer, and found himself in the possession of a fifty-dollar bill, which, in the limited state of the currency in that day and region, no one was able to change. On his homeward journey he passed through Erie and Buffalo, and in all his stopping places before reaching civilization he was compelled to accept credit, as no one could dissect so large a fortune as fifty dollars into its minor parts. It is needless to say that all the claims were made good, Mr. Perkins sending the money back by a party which was going west, as on his return to the Reserve the following season he came by the southern route. On reaching Connecticut he made

his report, and the trustees were so well pleased with it and with him that they made an agreement by which he was to assume the entire agency of the lands of the Erie company. He returned to the west in 1799, spent the summer here, and again returned to Connecticut in the fall. The same programme was carried out in 1800 and 1801, in which latter year he made Warren his permanent home. He had become so well and favorably known by this time that on October 30, 1801, he was appointed postmaster, a position which he held until October 31, 1829, when, on the accession of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency, Matthew Birchard became his successor. In the meagre correspondence which General Perkins has left touching his own life or acts is a letter written on March 24, 1842, to Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, from which I make the following extract:

The first time I passed the mountains was in May, 1799, when, I believe, the mail was carried on horse. This is all I can say in regard to the matter. The mail first came to Warren, October 30, 1801, *via* Canfield and Youngstown. General Wadsworth was appointed postmaster at Canfield, Judge Pease at Youngstown, and myself at Warren. A Mr. Frithy of Jefferson, Ashtabula county, Ohio, was contractor on the route, which came and terminated at Warren, the terminus for two or four years before it went on to Cleveland. Eleazer Gilson, of Canfield, Ohio, was the first mail carrier and made a trip once in two weeks, but I do not recollect the compensation. This was the first mail to the Reserve.

The crudity of the mail facilities of those days is a matter of tradition and history, and General Perkins used to illustrate in after days the uncertain idea the great world of the civilized east had of the great world of the uncivilized west by stating that he once received a letter directed "Warren, somewhere near Pittsburgh." "We have traditional evidence," says one writer, "that a common pocket-handkerchief often served as a wrapper for the whole delivery after the carrier had passed Canfield and Youngstown." The first record of a postoffice account from Warren to the general government is under date of December 31, 1801, and showed a balance due the government of \$4.76. The late Leonard Case, sr., in a few personal notes he placed on record, makes this reference to the Warren office and its master:

Mr. Gilson, soon after his contract to carry the mail, appointed Joseph McInrue as his deputy mail carrier. The writer saw McInrue on the route some two miles southerly from Warren with the mail matter tied up in his pocket-handkerchief along with the key of the Warren office, and understood that he had delivered others along the route. The Warren key had attached to it a label of wood on which was the date of its first delivery at Warren—July, 1802—plainly marked. This key was in the office of General Perkins in 1806 and several years after, whenever the office was kept, until 1816, when the writer left Warren. The general kept the office at his boarding house, the tavern of John Leavitt, esq.

The holding of this office was, of course, only an incident in the life of this busy young man, who threw his whole soul and energy into the

development of the new country in which he had cast his lot. The first court ever held in Warren was in August, 1800, and Simon Perkins is named as foreman of the grand jury. During the session a committee was appointed to divide the county of Trumbull into townships, "to describe the limits and boundaries of each township, and to make report to the court thereof," and Simon Perkins was the third man named on that committee. At the May term in 1801 it was ordered that "the house erected by Mr. Simon Perkins at the intersection of Young's road and the Lake road be the place for holding elections in the northern district" of Trumbull county, while the southern district met at that of Ephraim Quinby. At that session of court a report was rendered from a committee of which Mr. Perkins was a member, "appointed to draught a plan of a goal," and he was appointed "to superintend the building of said goal, and to carry into effect such contract as the court of quarter sessions shall make with any person or persons for the building thereof." This work was proceeded with, and the building had nearly reached completion in February, 1804, when it caught fire and was nearly burned to the ground. This accident was the signal for the outbreak of the county-seat removal war which raged for some years, and in which Warren was the final winner.

On March 18, 1804, Mr. Perkins was married to Nancy Ann Bishop, a daughter of Captain Ezra Bishop. She was born in Lisbon, Connecticut, on May 24, 1780, and was the only one of a large family who married and left descendants. The young couple, rich in courage and hope, turned their faces westward to that home he had already created in the wilderness. The journey westward was commenced on the second of July, in a carriage, and was made *via* New York, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The roads grew so bad as they left the confines of civilization, that at Chambersburgh, Pennsylvania, they were obliged to sell their carriage and complete the journey on horseback. Warren was reached on July 24, and the young bride was introduced to a rude pioneer hamlet of sixteen log dwellings and a few mechanics' shops. She accepted the situation with rare grace and good sense, and until the time of her death in 1862, she was one of the best loved and most honored of the pioneer mothers to be found in all the new land of the west.

The greater portion of Mr. Perkins' time was, of course, given to his business as land agent of the Lake Erie company, and to such private duties and labors as came in his way, but he was not allowed to rest even

when these were performed. He was often called into public service, where his sound good sense and high executive ability were employed for the general good. On December 5, 1807, Postmaster-General Granger wrote him as follows:

SIR: You cannot be ignorant of the unpleasant aspect of public affairs between this nation and Great Britain, nor of the vigorous preparations making for war in Upper Canada. In this state of things it has become necessary to establish a line of expresses through your country to Detroit. . . . To avail ourselves of the energy of your talents at this crisis I have to solicit you (and even *more* to express my opinion that it is your *duty*) to depart immediately for Detroit. . . . I know of no other person whose exertions would, at this time, be as satisfactory to the government, and however inconvenient the discharge of this duty may be to yourself, it is what you owe to your country, and to the south shore of Lake Erie in particular.

It is needless to say that this fervent appeal was not in vain. Mr. Perkins has himself described that mission and its outcome, in the letter to Elisha Whittlesey above referred to, and I can do no better than to make use of his own words:

In the autumn of 1807 I did, by the request of the postmaster-general, go to Detroit to make arrangements for the safe and speedy transportation of the mails. I got my letter of advice on the tenth of December, and left home soon thereafter. Was at Detroit on the twenty-fifth and twenty-ninth of that month, and while there I saw at the house of Governor Hull, three Indians, one of whom was said to be very influential. To them I communicated my business, the bad state of the roads, etc. from Sandusky to Warren and asked if their people would not consent to give to the United States permission to make a road there and keep it in repair; in short, to sell land sufficient for that purpose; and said to them that I thought to lay out the road and give one mile on each side would be sufficient. In all this I had the aid of the governor. The Indians assented, and it was agreed that it should be introduced at the next great assembly of the Indians, which, I think, was expected to be held the following spring. The reason of my going to Detroit at the time referred to, was that the government felt great solicitude about that military post and the Indians, and it was deemed of the highest importance that no failure should occur in the transportation of the mail. On the tour I was obliged to go out of my way some to find the mail carrier, and I do not now recollect how long I was in getting to Cleveland but from there to Detroit it was six days, all good weather and no delay. There were no roads, or bridges or ferry-boats. I do not recollect how I crossed the Cuyahoga, but at Black River, Huron, Sandusky and Maumee, in any time of high water, the horse swam alongside of a canoe. In the black swamp the water must have been from two to six inches deep for many miles. The settlements were: One house at Black River, perhaps two at Huron, two at Sandusky, ten or fifteen at Warren, and a very good settlement at River Raisin. On my return I made a full report to the postmaster-general, a copy of which I do not now find. It was not copied on my letter books but kept on file, and I fear it is lost. Thirty-five years have since elapsed. The ordinary trip to Detroit and return took, I think, two weeks at that time from Warren; but the mail was weekly, and the exchange at Cleveland. This was prior to my going out. As I do not find you a copy of my report to the postmaster general, I enclose to you a copy of the postmaster-general's letter to me under date of the fifth of Dec. 1807 by which you will see his views of the necessity of the service which he called on me to perform, the result of which was, I believe, all satisfactory.

The results of this long and lonely ride through the vast solitude of the forests, across swamps and unbridged rivers, and in an isolation for miles and miles from any sight of man or a human habitation, were not by any means confined to the better transmission of the mails but found an added

and unexpected return in a treaty held at Brownstown, in the Territory of Michigan, on November 25, 1808, when the Indians, in accordance with the above suggestion, ceded to the United States the right of way for a road from the rapids of the Maumee to Lower Sandusky and to the Western Reserve line, one mile in width on each side of the road. That grant was the basis of a turnpike from the Reserve line to Pittsburgh, and afterward a macadamized road from Ferrysburgh to Lower Sandusky. "This suggestion," says one writer, "relieved many emigrants from the perils of the Black Swamp, opened an easy communication for the mail to Michigan and the territories west, and removed a barrier to the cultivation of a large section of the country, and was of incalculable private and public benefit."

One of the first things naturally to be thought of in the condition of the west in those days—with the war of the Revolution only a few years behind, a dangerous savage foe lurking all about, and threatened trouble from Great Britain liable at any turn of affairs to lead to a renewal of hostilities—was the creation of an armed force that while not in a warlike position would be able to assume such shape on a moment's notice. Consequently the first constitution of the infant state of Ohio provided for a thoroughly organized defensive force, and at the second session of the legislature at Chillicothe, in 1803-4, specific laws were passed providing for a state militia. The state was organized with four divisions, and John S. Gano of Cincinnati was elected major-general of the first, Nathaniel Massie of Chillicothe of the second, Joseph Blall of Marietta of the third, and Elijah Wadsworth of Canfield of the fourth. The last named division covered the whole northern half of Ohio, including the counties of Columbiana, Jefferson and Trumbull—the latter at that time embracing the whole Western Reserve. Mr. Perkins was commissioned a brigadier-general of the fourth division on May 31, 1808. On the breaking out of the war of 1812 he was only a little past forty years of age, in the full possession of his mental and physical powers, enjoying the unlimited confidence of the state and national authorities and of General Wadsworth, who was his immediate chief. Strong in the confidence and respect of his troops, with great natural powers of organization and ability to command, and holding a knowledge of the country in which a part of the fighting was afterwards to take place, he was consequently a useful and conspicuous figure in the important events that followed. When news came of the preparations for war he issued an order to his colonels, William

Rayen, Richard Hayes and John S. Edwards, under date of April 28, 1812, to raise either by volunteer enrollment or by draft, a certain number of men, "to serve in the service of the United States as a detachment from the militia of this state." "The above orders," said he, "are to be executed with the greatest possible promptitude and dispatch." On May 11 General Perkins reports to General Wadsworth:

DEAR SIR:—On the ninth instant I received returns from the several colonels, complying with my orders of April 28. From two regiments volunteers were returned, and in one a draft was made. The volunteers returned here have been sufficient in this regiment to form a company, but they were from two regiments. I have issued an order for drafts to those regiments which returned volunteers, and my returns will no doubt be complete in the course of the present week.

On the surrender of Governor Hull at Detroit, a wild wave of fear ran through all this sparsely settled and unprotected region, which felt that it had only its own courage and resources to depend upon in a hand-to-hand conflict with the British and their savage allies. The scene at Warren was that recorded elsewhere. Those in command issued orders that were stern and full of a terse and unstudied heroism, while the men rushed for their arms and started for their places of military rendezvous even before orders could reach them. There was a moulding of bullets, the baking of bread, and other preparations that must precede the departure of the troops. General Perkins, on the twenty-second of August, without waiting to hear from his superior in command, issued the following order to his brigade:

Information is this moment received by the express mail carrier that the town of Detroit is taken by the British troops and the Indians of Canada. Also that the whole army of General Hull on our north-western frontier have been taken prisoners. That the Indians, etc., have progressed as far as the Miami, and are continuing their march this way. To repel the enemy you are hereby ordered to detach one-half of the effective men in your regiment with a suitable proportion of officers, and that they be well equipped for the field. . . . This duty is to be done with all possible dispatch.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

EDITORIAL.

THIS Magazine has reached the close of the first year of its existence. It has won its way by a constant and rapid advancement to a position where it takes rank with the few leading magazines of this country, and will enter upon the new year with a far happier spirit of hopefulness than it was able to cherish twelve months ago. It has now not the slightest feeling of distrust or uncertainty as to its success, which is assured beyond all question or doubt. The character of the Magazine and its steady improvement and enlargement are the best criterions by which to judge it. We make no promises for the future, except to pledge our best endeavor to promote its usefulness and thus to make it still more deserving of public favor.

THE series of articles on the "Early Medical Profession of Northern Ohio" has been in preparation for many months, and the author, Dr. Dudley P. Allen, promises the first installment for the November number of this Magazine.

A WRITER in the August Century favors an amendment to the constitution by virtue of which our retiring chief magistrates shall become for the remainder of their lives members of the United States senate, with salaries equal to one-half the sums they received as President. An ex-President's position is certainly a rather trying one—yesterday the most conspicuous character in the land; to-day relegated to the ranks of private citizenship; yesterday his name in every newspaper, in every home, on the lips of nearly every person in the land; to-day forgotten or lost sight of, crowded out of mind by a new series of events of which he is no longer the central figure. He cannot accept office or engage in duties of active life without compromising a dignity he is expected to main-

tain. The writer referred to thinks it wise to provide for each retiring chief magistrate by making him a senator for life—a position in which he can retain distinction without loss of dignity, and in which he may be paid a salary he can earn. Our ex-Presidents as a rule have left their high station comparatively poor men. They feel it necessary to maintain that respectable and dignified way of living that shall comport with a character befitting the first citizen of the country, and without an income this is not always possible. The result has been that occasionally congress has been called upon to make provision for the needs of an ex-President, a thing that is as humiliating to the people whose servant he has been as it is to himself. To so arrange it that he can give the country the benefit of his wisdom and long experience in public life, and to the senate the lustre of his name and high character, and in return for such high services be paid a proper salary, would seem to be so much more sensible than the present method that it is not unreasonable to expect that this or a similar plan will in the near future be adopted. The writer referred to says:

We would suggest, then, that when a President's term of office expires he shall become a senator of the United States senate for life, with half the salary he received as President. The very day that he hands over the key of the White House to his successor, he should be qualified to step into the upper house of our Federal legislature and be joined to the other seventy-six statesmen whose duty it is to review his successor's policies and measures. From being the elect of a party, he would become the counselor and protector; not of one party, but of all parties; not of any particular sect, but of the whole nation.

If, in addition to the adoption of such an amendment to the constitution thus providing for our ex-Presidents, the tenure of office of the President of the United States were made a fixed term of years, say six or seven years, and

the President be made eligible for one term only, a gain to the country of the very highest importance and value would result. The incumbent of the Presidential office would have no thought to give to a reflection, and would look forward to a dignified closing of his public career. The step from President to President-senator need not necessarily be a downward step, for it would lead him to a position in which he would be able to render services to the country of still higher value than those he gave as President.

If, however, an ex-President is thus provided for, what shall be done for an ex-Vice-President? His position upon retirement is still more trying. He is driven into an obscurity from which there is scarcely any hope of his again emerging. Having given himself up to be a figure-head in a position where little is expected of him, and where his only hope of distinction lies in the possibility of the sudden "taking off" of the President, he has a very unsatisfactory future before him. If an ex-President be made a President-senator, why not make an ex-Vice-President a Vice-President-senator?

GENERAL Benjamin F. Butler, in the North American Review for September, avers that he was much sought after as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency in 1864. Secretary Chase, who he says was ambitious to secure the nomination for President, and was using his position as secretary of the treasury to advance his interests, sent a messenger to him in the spring of 1864, who invited him to join his fortunes to those of Mr. Chase by accepting the second place. This the general very modestly but firmly declined. Three weeks later another messenger—this time from Mr. Lincoln—came to him with a like mission, saying:

The President, you know, intends to be a candidate for re-election, and as his friends indicate that Mr. Hamlin is no longer to be a candidate for Vice-President, and as he is from New England, the President thinks that his place should be filled by some one from that section; and aside from reasons of personal friendship which would make it pleasant to have you with him, he believes that, being the first prominent Democrat who volunteered for the war,

your candidature would add strength to the ticket, especially with the war Democrats, and he hopes you will allow your friends to co-operate with his to place you in that position.

Again the general declined, saying:

Tell him (Mr. Lincoln) with the prospects of the campaign I would not quit the field to be Vice-President even with himself as President, unless he will give me bond with sureties in the full sum of his four years' salary, that he will die or resign within three months after his inauguration. Ask him what he thinks I have done to deserve the punishment, at forty-six years of age, of being made to sit as presiding officer over the senate, to listen for four years to debates more or less stupid, in which I can take no part or say a word, nor even be allowed a vote upon any subject which concerns the welfare of the country, except when my enemies might think my vote would injure me in the estimation of the people, and therefore, by some parliamentary trick, make a tie on such a question, so I should be compelled to vote; and then at the end of four years (as nowadays no Vice-President is ever elected President), and because of the dignity of the position I had held, not to be permitted to go on with my profession, and therefore with nothing left for me to do save to ornament my lot in the cemetery tastefully, and get into it gracefully and respectably as a Vice-President should do.

IN a well-considered article on "The City of the Straits," elsewhere to be found in this number of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, the story is graphically told of the founding of the oldest city between the Allegheny and the Mississippi. It seems almost incredulous that the city of Detroit should date its history so far back as the year 1701. Its importance, however, was known to the Canadian government so early as 1670, in which year the Sulpitian fathers, Dollier and Galinée, on their way to the Sault Ste. Marie, landed on its sight, and afterwards prepared a map of the country through which they had passed and gave an account in their journal of their travels, in which account Detroit received some attention. It was probably occupied at times between 1670 and 1701 as a military post. But it was not until near 1700 that it received any marked attention. Antoine de la Motte Cadillac, in 1694, was sent to Michilimackinac to command a military post which the French government had established at that point. Cadillac retained this position for five years, and was thus given the opportunity of acquainting himself with

the superior advantages which the site of Detroit afforded as a point from which the fur trade could be most conveniently controlled, where a colony could be most successfully planted, a military post most efficiently maintained, and the neighboring Indian tribes most easily massed to afford protection against their ancient foe, the Iroquois. Cadillac was a man of ability, sagacity and ambition, and in 1700 visited France and won to his plans the support of Count Pontchartrain, the minister, and obtained from the king a grant of land equal to a fraction more than sixty-two acres, to be selected "wherever on the Detroit the new fort should be established." With a hundred men, half of whom were soldiers, with the younger Tonty in command, and the rest mechanics and tradesmen, he set out from La Chine in June and landed at Detroit July 24, 1701. A stockade fort was erected and named Fort Pontchartrain in honor of the French minister, his patron and friend. Thus Detroit was founded. A series of articles on "The City of the Straits" will appear in this Magazine, the initial paper of which we publish in the present number.

OF Cadillac less is known than one could wish. He was, however, a fluent writer, a shrewd diplomatist and a man of sound morality, but rather contentious and arbitrary in disposition. He remained at Detroit until 1710, when private interests took him elsewhere. He was governor of Louisiana from 1712 to 1717, and then returned to France and died there in 1730.

A MANIFEST cause of the evils which result from dishonesty in business life lies in the lax-

ity with which the children of the higher classes of to-day are instructed in religious matters. Forty-five years ago our rising youth were taught to reverence God, revere His word, and to possess a godly fear of wrong doing. Dr. W. J. Scott of Cleveland, in a series of pleasant stories of the olden time, which the other day he happened to be relating to the writer, referred to the customs that obtained in the neighborhood in which his father's family resided forty years ago. When any family had occasion to go to a neighbor's for a day's visit, or to church, to lock or bolt the doors and bar the windows of the house or barn was never thought of. Thefts rarely occurred, and when they did—if wheat, corn or oats were taken and the thief was discovered, he became thenceforth an outcast, the object of the scorn and contempt of the entire community, among whom it became impossible for him to longer remain. Public sentiment against wrongdoing was so bitter that the wrong-doer could not dwell among those to whom he was known and show his dishonest face to his honest neighbors. The reason why it was possible this high standard of right could be so rigidly maintained was because of the religious principle which was inbred in and became a part of the very nature of the first tillers of the soil who settled west of the Alleghany mountains, and which principle they thoroughly instilled into the minds and lives of their children. Respect for law, obedience to parents, reverence for God and His word—these things were taught in such a way that they meant all the words themselves imply. They are taught now either not at all or else in such a lifeless way that our children soon come to feel that we are not sincere and have not a well-grounded faith in the precepts we teach.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

The following Letters of Colonel Henry Bouquet, written from Fort Pitt in September of 1763 have not hitherto been published :

FORT PITT, 15th September, 1763.

SIR:—I received the 10th instant your letters of the fifth, eighth and ninth, with the return of Ligonier. The king's company observes that you have not given credit for some barrels of flour and a strayed ox, which will of course increase the loss of your stores. However, considering all the circumstances, it will be found very moderate. The garrisons must supply themselves with firewood in the best manner they can, as the general does not make any allowance for that article; you might have the trees cut now and hauled in when you have horses, as I find it a saving not to cut it small in the woods.

Can the inhabitants of Ligonier imagine that the king will pay their houses destroyed for the defence of the fort? At that rate he must pay likewise for two or three hundred pulled down at this post, which would be absurd, as those people had only the use and not the property of them, having never been permitted either to sell or rent them but obliged to deliver them to the king whenever they left them.

As to their furniture, it is their fault if they have lost it. They might have brought it in or near the fort.

What cattle has been used for the garrison will of course be paid for, but what has been killed or taken by the enemy I see nothing left to them but to petition the general to take their case into consideration. I am very sorry for their misfortune, and would assist them if I had it in my power, but it is really not.

The orders forbidding any importation of goods are given by Sir Jeffery Amherst. However, upon sending me a list of what may be absolutely wanted, I shall take upon me to grant a permit. One sutler would be sufficient for that post. We do very well here since we have none at all.

I am sorry to have to acquaint you that Lieutenants Carre and Potts are included in the reduction, though all the ensigns remain. I shall with great pleasure take the first opportunity to recommend you to the general for some place, if a staff is established in the garrisons of this continent.

I am, sir,

Your obedient and humble servant,
H. BOUQUET.

P. S.—Please to turn over.

FORT PITT, 30th September, 1763.

DEAR SIR:—I received your letter of the twentieth with returns for September.

Major Campbell will change your garrison and,

however disagreeable those things are, you must be persuaded that we do what we can and not what we would choose.

If the ship carpenters now here are not sent to the lakes you may retain them a couple of days to fit out barracks for about fifty men, for I don't think we shall have more to spare. Blankets are certainly very necessary and I will send them down for winter service.

article as I cannot help you at present in that. You must keep two horses going, and I'll send you some Indian corn. I wish Major Campbell could give you some assistance to cut trees at least, but I know how difficult it is upon a march to do those things.

You will not forget to send the rice and axes you received from Bedford for this post with the seeds.

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Lieutenant Blane.

H. BOUQUET.

The original of this letter from Colonel Henry Bouquet to Lieutenant Blane, who was stationed at Fort Ligonier, is among the papers of General Arthur St. Clair purchased by the state of Ohio and preserved at Columbus. It is kindly copied for us by Mr. A. A. Graham, Secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical society at Columbus.

It was written from Fort Pitt after the battle of Bushy Run and before the energetic and romantic expedition of Colonel Bouquet into the heart of the country of the Ohio, made the next year.

C. C. BALDWIN.

ST. JAMES', Oct. 14.

This day arrived an express from Sir Jeffery Amherst, commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in North America, dated New York, Sept. 3, with the following advices:

DETAIL OF THE ACTION OF THE THIRTY-FIRST OF JULY, COMMANDED BY CAPTAIN DALZELL, AGAINST THE INDIAN NATIONS, NEAR FORT DETROIT (THE STRAITS).

On the evening of the thirtieth of July, Captain Dalzell, aid-de-camp to General Amherst, being arrived here with the detachment sent under his command, and being fully persuaded that Pontiac, the Indian chief, with his tribes, would soon abandon

*The remainder of the line in the original letter is entirely illegible.

his design and retire, insisted with the commandant that they might easily be surprised in their camp, totally routed and driven out of the settlement; and it was thereupon determined that Captain Dalzell should march out with two hundred and forty-seven men. Accordingly we marched about half an hour after two in the morning, two deep, along the great road by the river side, two boats up the river along shore, with a pattetaro in each, with orders to keep up with the line of march, to cover our retreat, and take off our killed and wounded, Lieutenant Bean, of the Queen's Independents, being ordered with a rear guard to convey the dead and wounded to the boats. About a mile and a half from the fort we had orders to form into platoons, and, if attacked in the front, to fire by street-firings. We then advanced, and in about a mile farther our advanced guard, commanded by Lieutenant Brown of the Fifty-fifth regiment, had been fired upon so close to the enemy's breastworks and cover that the fire, being very heavy, not only killed and wounded some of his party, but reached the main body, which put the whole into a little confusion; but they soon recovered their order, and gave the enemy, or rather their works, it being very dark, a discharge or two from the front, commanded by Captain Gray. At the same time the rear, commanded by Captain Grant, were fired upon from a house and some fences, about twenty yards on his left, on which he ordered his own and Captain Hopkins' companies to face to the left, and give a full fire that way; after which, it appearing that the enemy gave way everywhere, Captain Dalzell sent orders to Captain Grant to take possession of the above said houses and fences, which he immediately did, and found in one of the said houses two men, who told him the enemy had been there long, and were well apprised of our design. Captain Grant then asked them the numbers; they said above three hundred, and that they intended, as soon as they had attacked us in the front, to get between us and the fort; which Captain Grant told Captain Dalzell, who came to him when the firing was over. And in about an hour after he came to him again, and told Captain Grant he was to retire, and ordered him to march in the front and post himself in an orchard. He then marched, and about half a mile further, on his retreat he had some shots fired on his flank, but got possession of the orchard, which was well fenced, and just as he got there he heard a warm firing in the rear, having, at the same time, a firing on his own post from the fences and cornfields behind it. Lieutenant M'Dougal, who acted as adjutant to the detachment, came up to him (Captain Grant) and told him that Captain Dalzell was killed and Captain Gray very much wounded, in making a push on the enemy and forcing them out of a strong breastwork of cord-wood and an intrenchment which they had taken possession of, and that the command then devolved upon him. Lieutenant Bean immediately came up and told him that Captain Rogers had desired him to tell Captain Grant that he had taken possession of a house, and that he had better retire with what numbers he had; as he, Captain Rogers, could not get off without the boats to cover him, he being hard pushed by the enemy from the enclosures behind him, some of which scoured the road through which he must retire. Captain Grant then sent Ensign Pauli with twenty men back to attack a party of the enemy which annoyed his own post a little, and galled those that were joining him from the place where Captain Dalzell was killed, and Captain Gray, Lieutenants Brown and Luke were wounded, which Ensign Pauli did, and killed some of the enemy in their flight. Captain Grant at the same time detached all the men he could get, and took possession of the inclosures, barns, fences, etc., leading from his own post to the fort, which posts he reinforced with the officers and men as they came up. Thinking the retreat then secured, he sent back to Captain Rogers, desiring he would come off, that the retreat was quite secured and the different parties ordered to cover one another successively, until the whole had joined; but Captain Rogers, not finding it right to risk the loss of more men, he chose to wait for the armed boats, one of which appeared soon, commanded by Lieutenant Brehm, whom Captain Grant had directed to go and cover Captain Rogers' retreat, who was in the next house; Lieutenant Brehm accordingly went and fired several shots at the enemy; Lieutenant Abbott, with the other boat, wanting ammunition, went down with Captain Gray. Lieut. Brown and some wounded men returned also, which Captain Grant supposes the enemy seeing, did not wait her arrival, but retired on Lieutenant Brehm's firing, and gave Captain Rogers, with the rear, an opportunity to come off, so that the whole from the different posts joined without any confusion, and marched to the fort in good order, covered by the armed boats on the water side and by our own parties on the country side, in view of the enemy, who had all joined and were much stronger than at the beginning of the affair, as was afterwards told us by some prisoners that made their escape, many having joined them from

the other side of the river and other places. The whole arrived at the fort about eight o'clock, commanded by Captain Grant, whose able and skillful retreat is highly commended.

RETURN OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED OF THE SEVERAL DETACHMENTS, NEAR DETROIT, JULY 31, 1763 :

Fifty-fifth regiment : One sergeant, thirteen rank and file, killed ; Captain Gray, two lieutenants (Duke and Brown), one drummer, twenty-eight rank and file, wounded.

Royal Americans : One killed, one wounded.

Eightieth regiment : Two killed, three wounded.

Queen's rangers : Two killed, three wounded.

Total : Nineteen killed, Forty-two wounded.

ACCOUNTS TRANSMITTED BY COLONEL BOUQUET TO SIR JEFFERY AMHERST.

CAMP AT EDGE HILL,
Twenty-six miles from Fort Pitt (Du Quesne) }
the fifth of August, 1763.

The second instant the troops and convoy intended for Fort Pitt arrived at Ligonier, where I could obtain no intelligence of the enemy, the expresses sent since the beginning of July having been either killed or obliged to return, all the passes being occupied by the enemy. In this uncertainty I determined to leave all the wagons, with the powder and a quantity of stores and provisions, at Ligonier, and on the fourth proceeded with the troops and about three hundred and forty horses laden with flour.

I intended to have halted to-day at Bushy Run (a mile beyond this camp) and, after having refreshed the men and horses, to have marched in the night over Turtle Creek, a very dangerous defile of several miles, commanded by high and scraggy hills ; but at one o'clock this afternoon, after a march of seventeen miles, the savages suddenly attacked our advanced guard, which was immediately supported by the two light infantry companies of the Forty-second regiment, who drove the enemy from their ambuscade and pursued them a good way. The savages returned to the attack, and, the fire being obstinate on our front and extending along our flanks, we made a general charge with the whole line to dislodge the savages from the heights, in which attempt we succeeded, though without obtaining by it any decisive advantage, for as soon as they were driven from one post they appeared on another, till, by continued reinforcements, they were at last able to surround us and attack the convoy left in our rear. This obliged us to march back to protect it. The

action then became general, and though we were attacked on every side, and the savages exerted themselves with uncommon resolution, they were constantly repulsed with loss. We also suffered considerably ; Captain-lieutenant Graham and Lieutenant James M'Intosh of the Forty-second are killed, and Captain Graham wounded.

Of the Royal American regiment, Lieutenant Dow, who acted as deputy quartermaster-general, is shot through the body.

Of the Seventy-seventh, Lieutenant Donald Campbell and Mr. Peebles, a volunteer, are wounded.

Our loss in men, including rangers and drivers, exceeds sixty, killed or wounded.

The action has lasted from one o'clock till night, and we expect to begin again at daybreak.

I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the constant assistance I have received from Major Campbell during this long action, nor express my admiration of the cool and steady behavior of the troops, who did not fire a shot without orders, and drove the enemy from the posts with fixed bayonets. The conduct of the officers is much above my praise.

CAMP AT BUSHY RUN, Aug. 6, 1763.

I had the honor to inform your excellency, in my letter of yesterday, of our first engagements with the savages.

We took post last night on the hill, where our convoy halted when the front was attacked (a commodious piece of ground, and just spacious enough for our purpose) ; there we encircled the whole, and covered our wounded with the flour bags.

In the morning the savages surrounded our camp, at the distance of about five hundred yards, and by shouting and yelping quite round that extensive circumference, thought to have terrified us with their numbers. They attacked us early, and, under favor of an incessant fire, made several bold efforts to penetrate our camp ; and though they failed in the attempt, our situation was not the less perplexing, having experienced that brisk attacks had little effect upon an enemy, who always gave way when pressed, and appeared again immediately. Our troops were, besides, extremely fatigued with the long march, and as long action of the preceding day, and distressed to the last degree by a total want of water, much more intolerable than the enemy's fire.

Tied to our convoy, we could not lose sight of it without exposing it and our wounded to fall a prey to the savages, who pressed upon us on every side ; and to move it was impracticable, having left many

horses and most of the drivers stupefied by fear, who hid themselves in the bushes or were incapable of hearing or obeying orders.

The savages growing every moment more audacious, it was thought proper still to increase their confidence; by that means, if possible, to entice them to come close upon us, or to stand their ground when attacked. With this view, two companies of light infantry were ordered within the circle, and the troops on the right and left opened their files and filled up the space, that it might seem they were intended to cover the retreat. The Third light infantry company and the grenadiers of the Forty-second were ordered to support the two first companies. This manœuvre succeeded to our wish, for the few troops who took possession of the ground lately occupied by the two light infantry companies, being brought in nearer to the centre of the circle, the barbarians mistaking these motions for a retreat, hurried headlong on, and, advancing upon us with a most daring intrepidity, galled us excessively with their heavy fire; but at the very moment that, certain of success, they thought themselves masters of the camp, Major Campbell, at the head of the two first companies, allied out from a part of the hill they could not observe, and fell upon their right flank. They resolutely returned the fire, but could not stand the irresistible shock of our men, who, rushing in among them, killed many of them and put the rest to flight. The orders sent to the other two companies were delivered so timely by Captain Basset, and executed with such celerity and spirit, that the routed savages, who happened to run that moment before their front, received their full fire when uncovered by the trees. The four companies did not give them time to load a second time, nor even to look behind them, but pursued them till they were totally dispersed. The left of the savages, which had not been attacked, were kept in awe by the remains of our troops, posted on the brow of the hill for that purpose; nor durst they attempt to support or assist their right; but, being witnesses to their defeat, followed their example and fled. Our brave men disdained so much to touch the dead body of a vanquished enemy that scarce a scalp was taken, except by the rangers and pack-horse drivers.

The wood being now cleared and the pursuit over, the four companies took possession of a hill in our front, and as soon as litters could be made for the wounded, and the flour and everything destroyed, which for want of horses could not be carried, we marched without molestation to this camp. After

the severe correction we had given the savages a few hours before, it was natural to suppose we should enjoy some rest; but we had hardly fixed our camp when they fired upon us again. This was very provoking. However, the light infantry dispersed them before they could receive orders for that purpose.

The behavior of our troops on this occasion speaks for itself so strongly that for me to attempt their praise would but detract from their merit.

RETURN OF KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE TWO ACTIONS.

Forty-second, or Royal Highlanders: One captain, one lieutenant, one sergeant, one corporal, twenty-five private, killed; one captain, one lieutenant, two sergeants, three corporals, one drummer, twenty-seven private, wounded.

Sixtieth, or Royal Americans: One corporal, six private, killed; one lieutenant, four private, wounded.

Seventy-seventh, or Montgomery's Highlanders: One drummer, five private, killed; one lieutenant, one volunteer, three sergeants, seven private, wounded.

Volunteers, rangers and pack-horse men: One lieutenant, seven private, killed; eight private, wounded; five private, missing.

NAMES OF THE OFFICERS.

Forty-second regiment: Captain-lieutenant John Graham, Lieutenant M'Intosh and Lieutenant Joseph Randal of the rangers, killed.

Forty-second regiment: Captain John Graham and Lieutenant Duncan Campbell, wounded.

Sixtieth regiment: Lieutenant James Dow, wounded.

Seventy-seventh regiment: Lieutenant Donald Campbell and Volunteer Mr. Peebles, wounded.

Total: Fifty killed, sixty wounded, five missing.

FORT PITT, Aug. 11, 1763.

We arrived here yesterday without further opposition than scattered shots along the road.

The Delawares, Shawnese, Wyandots and Mingoes had closely beset and attacked this fort from the twenty-seventh of July to the first instant, when they quitted it to march against us.

The boldness of those savages is hardly credible. They had taken post under the banks of both rivers, close to the fort, where, digging holes, they kept an incessant fire and threw fire arrows. They are good marksmen, and, though our people were under cover, they killed one and wounded seven. Captain Ecuyer is wounded in the leg by an arrow.

I should not do justice to that officer should I omit mentioning that, without engineers or any other artificers than a few shipwrights, he has raised a parapet of logs round the fort, above the old one (which, having not been finished, was too low enfiladed) palisaded the inside of the area, constructed a fire-engine, and, in short, has taken all precautions which art and judgment could suggest for the preservation of this post, open before on the three sides, which had suffered by the floods. The inhabitants have acted with spirit against the enemy, and in the repairs of the fort. Captain Ecuyer expresses an entire satisfaction in their conduct.

The artillery and the small number of regulars have done their duty with distinction.

Sir Jeffery Amherst's letters add to the above accounts, that by his last intelligence the number of savages in the two actions of the fifth and sixth of August, slain, was about sixty, and a great many wounded in the pursuit; that the principal ring-leaders of those people who had the greatest share in fomenting the present troubles, and were concerned in the murder of Colonel Clapham, etc., viz.,

Kikyuscung, and the Warf, and Butler, were, according to the information sent him, killed; the two former in the field, and the last at Fort Pitt.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

I would be pleased to learn the signification of the following Indian names: COCALICO, WENANGHANNA, SHINGPARKA, TOBYCUSHQUAN, KUSKAHANY, TOBYONGAHELA. Some of them appear to be Delaware names, and no doubt Mr. Russel Errett, who seems familiar with that tongue, can translate them without trouble. INQUIRER.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY.

FORT MASSIAC.—A great deal of nonsense has been written about this fort. Bancroft appears to be the only historian who spells the name correctly; all others write it Massac. Can the editor or any of the readers of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY tell exactly when the French built it? I. C. ALLEGHENY, Pa., September 26, 1885.

REVIEW.

'SKETCHES OF WESTERN RESERVE LIFE.' By Harvey Rice. With illustrations. 193 pp. Cleveland: W. W. Williams, 1885.

This handsome little volume, from the pen of one who is ripe in scholarly attainments as well as in years,* possesses an absorbing interest for all who value whatever is of moment in northern Ohio pioneer life. The range of topics is not wide but nevertheless covers a number of the salient points in the growth and development of Western Reserve civilization. The story is told of how General Moses Cleveland came to the mouth of the Cuyahoga in 1796 and founded the city that bears his name; of how Lorenzo Carter in 1797 erected the first frame dwelling and the first warehouse on the present site of Cleveland; of how that godly man and jastly famed missionary, the Rev. Joseph Badger, came

to the Reserve in 1800, and in 1801 visited every settlement and nearly every family in "New Connecticut," and for thirty-five years carried the message of the Gospel to the people of the Western Reserve; and of how happy homes were planted in the wilderness, amid privation, hardship and danger. The chapter on "Western Reserve Jurists" is embellished with elegant portraits on steel of Judge Calvin Pease, Reuben Wood, Sherlock J. Andrews and Rufus P. Ranney, and contains sketches of their lives and of the lives of Peter Hitchcock and George Tod, and an estimate of their characters and public services is given with rare insight and fidelity. "Footprints of Puritanism" and the concluding chapter, "Woman and Her Sphere," the general reader will find peculiarly interesting and profitable reading. The price of this valuable addition to Western Reserve literature is only \$1.00. The book will be sent by the publisher to any address, postage prepaid, upon receipt of the price.

* Mr. Rice has completed his eighty-fifth year, and has retained in a rare degree his mental and physical powers.

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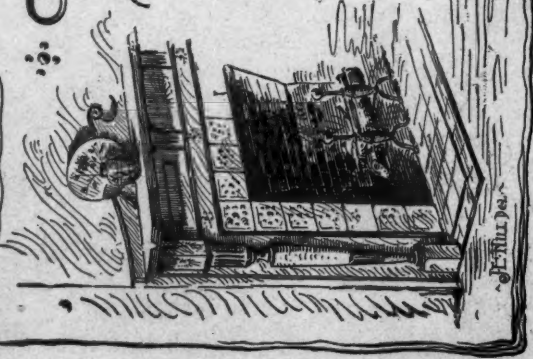
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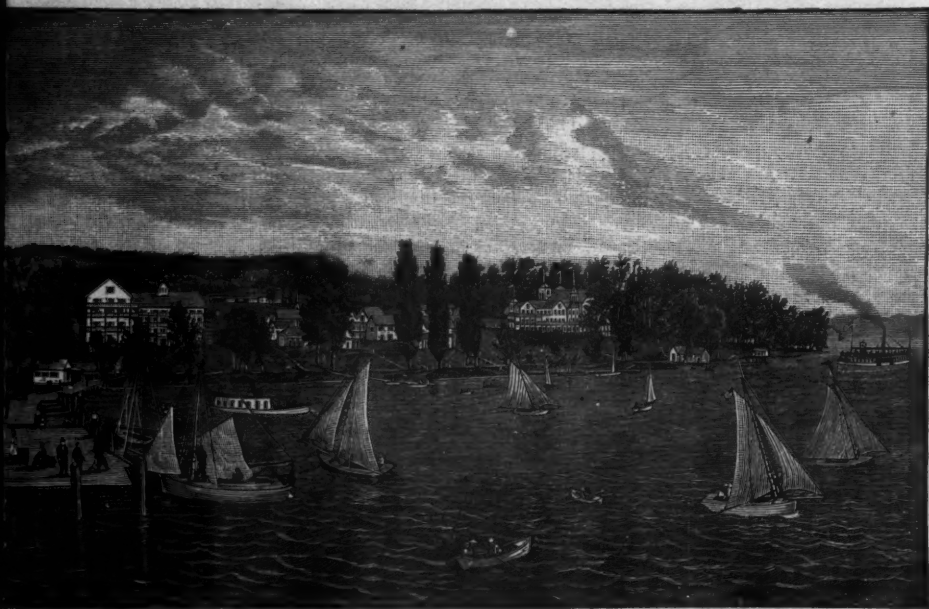
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